A HISTORY OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN AMERICA

CHARLES F. THWING

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A HISTORY OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN AMERICA

BY

CHARLES F. THWING, LL.D.

PRESIDENT OF WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY
AND ADELBERT COLLEGE

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PREFATORY NOTE

THIS History may be said to itself have a bit of history. Twenty-five years ago certain studies for it were begun. In making these studies my wife, Carrie F. Butler Thwing, and I worked together. Subject to interruptions, these studies were from time to time continued, and their results put aside for incorporation in the proposed book. In the later years of the period which has passed since her death in 1898, the writing of the history has gone forward. But the completed book represents a labor covering more than twenty-five years.

In its writing I have also received much help from many men. I cannot name all, but I wish to say I am especially grateful to the librarians of Harvard, of Yale, of Brown, and of Dartmouth for aid graciously given. If several of my own official associates were not so near to me, I should like also to express to them my deep sense of gratitude. The Index is the work of my daughter, Mary B. Thwing.

It may not be unfitting to add that I have already begun a "History of Education" of all grades in this country for the last forty years. This work will treat with greater fullness certain subjects which are briefly considered in the present volume.

C. F. T.

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY, CLEVELAND,
June 14, 1906.

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A HISTORY OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN AMERICA

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST COLLEGE

The liberally educated Englishmen who came to America in the first half of the seventeenth century were graduates of either Cambridge or Oxford. Neither St. Andrews, the oldest of the colleges and universities of Scotland, nor Glasgow, nor Aberdeen, nor Edinburgh, the youngest, had directly influenced them. Although the Pilgrims had made their home in Leyden for twelve years, yet it is evident that the new university, founded by William of Orange as a reward to the citizens for their mighty and triumphant resistance in the great siege, had not offered its advantages to this godly people. Paris and the other continental universities had affected the emigrating Englishman only, or chiefly, as the power of these great and historic foundations had touched Oxford or Cambridge.

It was the happy fortune of the one hundred Cambridge and Oxford men who came to America before 1640 to be members of those universities at a time of academic prosperity. The liberal and liberalizing spirit of the Renaissance was still potent. The literary influence of Protestantism, within and without college walls, was showing itself in noble refinement and manly vigor of character. Forty years after Francis Bacon entered the University of Cambridge, he criticised in his "Advancement of Learning,"[1] the English university system. His criticisms are directed to the same weaknesses which prevail to-day. They are touched with the modern spirit. He regrets that men study words and not

[1] Book I and first sections of Book II.

matter. He laments the poverty of the salaries of the public lecturers. He deplores the lack of maturity in students who are engaged in the study of logic and of rhetoric. He regrets that the chief learning of the university is dedicated to the service of the professions. He deprecates the difference which exists between the practical and the theoretical. But despite these criticisms of one of the wisest and greatest of men, it is still evident that the two historic institutions that have closest relation with the higher education in America were flourishing. Although linguistic studies, especially Greek, were suffering a decline, yet logic, rhetoric, and theology in particular were nobly in the ascendant. It was an age of great personalities and of great teachers. Neville, master of Trinity, "the magnificent," as Fuller calls him; Chaderton, master of Emmanuel from its foundation, from 1584 to 1622, able administrator; Andrewes—head of Pembroke, great teacher and lecturer; and above all John Preston of Queens and of Emmanuel, in whom grace and refinement were joined with strength and vigor, represent with others no less great the higher standards of scholarship, character, and service maintained in the University of Cambridge in the last years of the reign of Elizabeth and the first of the reign of James. It was an age, too, of making of great men from such students as Cartwright, Davenant, Cromwell—who entered Sidney in 1616—Fairfax, Milton, John Robinson, Robert Browne, and Francis Johnson. The orderliness, too, of the students was undoubtedly superior to the conduct of the men at the German universities. The college system saved the student from intellectual eccentricities and moral disorders which a loosely governed university would have suffered.

Out of such associations and from the company of such associates came the men who were the leaders among the twenty thousand persons who landed in New England between 1620 and 1640. The larger part of these leaders were clergymen. They were installed as pastors of churches which were in many cases formed before the towns themselves were organized. Among them were John Cotton, the most famous of the early ministers, eloquent and scholarly; Thomas Hooker, "the light of the Western churches"; Thomas Shepard, of Cambridge, whose name still

lives in a conspicuous church of the university town; John Harvard, flower of that Puritan seed-plot, Emmanuel College; John Eliot, the apostle to the Indians; Henry Dunster and Charles Chauncy, the first two presidents of the college, and Roger Williams: they were great men of a great company. These men, together with John Winthrop, the colonial governor, and others of no mean order of worthiness, to the number of one hundred, represent the personal and scholastic force out of which sprang the first college. Of this number of one hundred, seventy had been students at Cambridge and some thirty at Oxford.

The larger proportion of Cambridge than of Oxford graduates who came to America is significant. The reason is not far to seek. William Laud became a Fellow of St. John's College in 1593, and in 1611 President. In the year 1624 he became a member of the Court of High Commission. In 1630 he was chosen Chancellor of the University, and three years after Archbishop. Almost in the very beginning of his public life he showed distrust of the Puritans, and with consistency and fearlessness he resisted them. A university and a college in which Laud's influence was potent would be repellent to the sense of a Puritan. It is significant that not a single graduate of St. John's, Oxford, is numbered among those who came to New England. It may be also significant that no less than five of the few Oxford men who came to New England left the University before the completion of their course. The spirit of Oxford, ruled by Laud, was inconsistent with the spirit which founded New England.

The Plymouth Colony was not blessed with so large a proportion of educated men as the Massachusetts. From the landing in 1620 until the arrival of the first settled pastor—Ralph Smith—a decade after, Elder Brewster was the only member of the Plymouth Colony who had enjoyed even a part of a university education. Intellectual impulses and motives were lacking. Edward Winslow and Samuel Newman, the concordance maker, represent the chief literary influences of the Colony. In respect to education, as in other respects, the remark of Robinson, made in his farewell letter, becomes true, that you "are not furnished with any persons of special eminence above the rest." Although private instruction was probably not uncommon, it

was more than a generation after the landing that the first public school was opened.

The desire for knowledge was apparently slight. Between 1642, when the first class took its degree at Harvard, and 1658 only one native and two residents of Plymouth are included in the graduates. Of the ninety-eight graduates of the college in that period only one became a minister in the Plymouth Colony. The lack of interest in education was at once cause and result of lack of interest in literature; two sermons and a single volume by Edward Winslow represent the literary product. The glory of Plymouth is the glory of conscience, not of intellect. Both Plymouth and the Bay Colony were the result of high purpose, courage, sound common sense. But one looks in vain for the highest intellectual results among the passengers of the *Mayflower* or their immediate descendants. As branches of the Bay Colony the settlers of Connecticut and New Haven exhibited intellectual tendencies akin to those of the northern district. John Davenport, in New Haven, and Thomas Hooker, in Hartford, were the leaders of thought. Davenport laid plans wise and comprehensive for the higher education of the people. His scheme embraced the common school, the grammar and the high school, as well as the college. Through the distant and, perhaps, indirect result of his endeavor the college was finally established; yet the common school and the grammar, he was privileged to see in operation. In New Haven, in the first year of its settlement, a schoolmaster was employed—a fact unknown in the history of the other colonies. In the Rhode Island and Providence plantations Roger Williams, the irrepressible expounder of toleration, and the hermit, William Blaxton, were the only university men. The intellectual ground was far less rich than in either Massachusetts or the more southern New England colonies. Although the early settlers of Virginia and the Pilgrims were unlike enough in most respects, yet they were alike in respect to the lack of an educated membership. In the whole colony of Virginia in its first decades were only four clergymen, only one of whom was liberally educated. Besides him the only representative of the university was John Pott, the colonial physician.

Men of learning were not lacking in the two other recognized professions of law and of medicine. Their number, however, was small. In the year 1640 only one lawyer resided in the Massachusetts Colony, and it is probable that he was the only representative of his profession in all New England. Thomas Lechford came to Boston from Lincoln's Inn in 1638, but after a rather uncomfortable residence of three years returned to his native country. John Rogers, one of the first graduates of the first college, who became its president, in speaking of the incredible wickedness of the legal profession voiced the common sentiment. Plymouth Colony had no lawyers for many years. The law of 1671 authorized the employment of attorneys, but under the condition that they did nothing to deceive the court or to darken the case. As late as the year 1687 Boston, or the Colony of which it was the chief town, had only two lawyers. The needs for the services of lawyers were few. The cumbersome forms of English procedure had been discarded. In Plymouth deeds of land were not for many years either signed or sealed. A sale was acknowledged before a magistrate, who made a record of the transaction. The transfers of real estate were few, and the crimes committed against the person were fewer.

The needs, however, for the services of the doctor were many. So honorable was held to be the healing art that its practice was frequently united with the profession of the clergyman, a union not uncommon in the early days of old England. Among the passengers of the *Mayflower* was Dr. Samuel Fuller, a deacon of their church, beloved and trusted. Charles Chauncy and Leonard Hoar, the second and third presidents of the college, took charge of the bodies as well as the minds of their associates. Thomas Thacher, the first minister of the Old South Church, of Boston, was the author of the earliest medical treatise published in this country. Cotton Mather, it is known, was the first great apostle of vaccination.

The educated men who came to the northern colonies from 1620 to 1640 with their associates who were not educated, were moved alike by a single aim. This aim is comprehended in the word religion. The purpose of the voyagers coming to New England before the arrival of the *Mayflower,* as well as the pur-

pose of the Virginia settlers, was commercial. John Smith, the Virginia captain, affirmed that no other purpose than wealth could draw people away from old England to the New World.

The primary religious reasons for the coming of the Massachusetts Company to New England were well set forth by John Winthrop, made governor before he left England in 1629 and continuing until his death in 1649, with the exception of a few years, and always the master spirit of the colony. They were three in number. In the first place the colony would be, he believed, of great service to the Church in carrying the Gospel to this part of the world, thus helping on the "coming of the fullness of the Gentiles" and raising a "bulwark against the Kingdom of Antichrist which the Jesuits labor to rear up in those parts."[1] The second reason of a religious nature to be urged by Winthrop for the undertaking in the New World is seen at the standpoint of the individual Christian. "What can be a better work," he asks, "and more honorable and worthy a Christian, than to help raise and support a particular church while it is in its infancy, and to join his forces with such a company of faithful people as by a timely assistance may grow strong and prosper; and for want of it may be put to great hazard, if not wholly ruined?"[2] The third reason is given in behalf of the colony itself. Winthrop argues that if wealthy and prosperous people who are known to be godly shall forsake their ease and comforts to join themselves with the new Church and endure with others the hardships of the New World, the example would be of great value in removing the disrepute usually attached to adventurers. Such an example would also "give more life to the faith of God's people in their prayers for the plantation," and would "encourage others to join the more willingly in it."[3]

The Bible, therefore, was the principal book of the community. John Cotton was asked by the General Court to draw an abstract of the laws received from God and delivered by Moses to the Commonwealth of Israel, so far forth as they are of moral, of

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[1] "Life and Letters of John Winthrop," by Robert C. Winthrop, p. 309.
[2] Ibid., p. 310.
[3] Ibid., p. 310.

perpetual, and of universal obligation. Although the code thus made was never formally adopted, yet its spirit prevailed. The church was therefore the origin of the state. Only members of the church were allowed to vote. Heresy was punished by the civil authorities.

The colonists therefore, having such a religious aim, were serious in character and severe in conduct. They took life in earnest. They lived, as their great fellow-Puritan has sung, as ever in their "great Taskmaster's eye." Their pleasures were few and somber; amusements were regulated by law. Dice and cards were prohibited treasures; dancing was forbidden on the ground of its inconsistency with dignity of character, as well as for other reasons. Certain forms of dress became the object of legal prohibition. Flashy apparel, immoderately great sleeves, embroidered and needleworked caps, were the objects of prohibitory legislation. Though wine and rum were suffered, tobacco was regarded as the instrument of the evil one, and its smoke was compared with smoke of the bottomless pit, which burneth with fire and brimstone. Long hair was a special abomination, and John Eliot and President Chauncy have each left on record their hatred of what Eliot called a luxurious feminine prolixity. Virginia as well as Massachusetts required attendance at the services of the church; the penalty for absence was either a pecuniary fine or lying neck and heels the night following the transgression.

These settlers, therefore, of education, of the religious aim, and of seriousness in conduct and character were idealists. They were apostles of things not as they are, but as they ought to be. With them the two conditions of the ideal and practical, which have always ruled in America, had their place; but the ideal was far more potent and constant. One of the chief reasons that Bradford gives in his incomparable history of the immigration of the Mayflower Company would be equally true of other companies; for the people of Massachusetts as well as those of Plymouth had a great hope "of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto, for the propagating and advancing the Gospel of the kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world; yea, though they should be but even as

stepping-stones unto others for the performing of so great a work."[1]

Out of such general conditions sprang the first college. The bare record of the bare facts is significant. In the year 1636 the General Court of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay voted to "give four hundred Pounds towards a school or College, whereof two hundred Pounds shall be paid the next year, and two hundred Pounds when the work is finished, and the next Court to appoint where and what building." In the following year twelve of the most eminent men of the Colony, appointed by the General Court, became its governors. Six were officers of the Commonwealth and six were neighboring clergymen.

The six magistrates to whom were committed the destinies of the new institution were Governor John Winthrop, the ancestor of his family in America; Governor Thomas Dudley, father of Joseph, who was also governor, who died at Roxbury in 1653; Richard Bellingham, also governor; John Humfrey, of Lynn, an assistant and the first major-general of the colony, who returned to England in 1641; Roger Harlakenden, of Cambridge, who came to New England in 1635, an assistant, and who died in 1638; Israel Stoughton, of Dorchester, father of William, who became governor, who, after serving for eight years as an assistant, returned to England. The other six members were clergymen or elders. They were John Cotton and John Wilson, of Boston; Thomas Welde, of Roxbury; Thomas Shepard, of Cambridge; John Davenport, an Oxford man, who, after preaching in London, went to Amsterdam, and came to Boston in 1637. In 1638 he went to New Haven. His plans for the New Haven Colony touching the higher education were not realized until the first year of the next century. After residing thirty years in the New Haven Colony he returned to Boston as successor of John Wilson, and died in 1670. The sixth member was Hugh Peters, of Salem, who was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, served, like Davenport, as a preacher in London, whence he was driven to Holland; he arrived in New England about 1635. After six years he returned to England as an agent of the colony. He was distinguished for his noble service throughout the period of the

[1] Bradford's "History of Plymouth Plantation," p. 24.

Commonwealth. At the Restoration he was convicted of treason and was executed in 1660. It was apparent that the destinies of the colonial college were committed to the ablest men of the colony. Taken all in all, it is certain that no body of men have represented their constituency more ably than the first governing board of Harvard. It would be difficult to-day to assemble twelve men of clearer vision or of firmer conviction.

The establishment of the college under the conditions of the first third of the seventeenth century prevailing in New England seems to contradict the ordinary law of first the material and then the spiritual, first the temporal and then the eternal. The colony was poor. Its inhabitants were few, not exceeding five thousand families. Its system of public education was yet to be formed. The struggle for the barest necessaries was hard and constant. On the west was the wilderness, and on the east the ocean. To a little strip of territory running thirty miles along the coast and twenty miles into the interior, a distance like that from Ipswich to Hingham, and from Boston to Natick, were the people confined. Matters as diverse as ecclesiastical doctrines, politics, and Indians engaged their attention. Yet under these conditions the Puritan people, through their legal representative body, established an institution of the higher learning. A devotion to the highest ideals, so great and so triumphant, under conditions so forbidding, the world has not known.

The college was placed at Cambridge, first called Newtown, in recognition of the English origin of the foundation, and also in hopefulness that the new college, on the banks of what is now known as the Charles, might be not unworthy of bearing the name of the university situated on the Cam. The preaching, too, of the Cambridge pastor, Thomas Shepard, was of the sort which, it was judged, students ought to hear. In the year, 1638, John Harvard died in Charlestown, after a residence in the colony of about a year. His entire library of some three hundred volumes, and half of his other property, he bequeathed to the college; whether the value of the bequest was eight hundred pounds or four hundred, the will leaves doubtful.

Such a donation was, measured by the standards of the twentieth century, insignificant, and even measured by the standards

of the educational endowments of the seventeenth was not great. In the year 1612 Brasenose College, Oxford, had a revenue of six hundred pounds. About the same period, too, Balliol had an annual revenue of about one hundred pounds; but the revenue of New College was one thousand pounds, of Magdalene twelve hundred, and of Christ Church two thousand. Yet gifts are to be measured by their serviceableness, and not by their gross amount. It is not improbable that the gift of John Harvard, made in the exigency in which it was made, saved, or at least helped to save, the infant college from a premature death. The gift also aided in establishing the principle that the unorganized community is as sure and constant in its aid to the cause of the higher education as the formal commonwealth. The other half of Harvard's fortune, it may be added, went to his young widow, who, however, remained a widow less than a year. By his small and princely bequest, John Harvard, without neglecting his evident privilege and duty as a husband, built the greatest monument from so slight a foundation, ever constructed.

Regarding John Harvard little is known, and this little is the result of prolonged inquiry of the last two decades. His mother, Katherine Rogers, was born in Stratford-on-Avon, in a house still standing, and which in the year 1905 was purchased by an American citizen. She married Robert Harvard, and lived in Southwark, London, where he was born. Robert Harvard was a butcher. The son was baptized in St. Saviour's Church, November 29, 1607, in which in May, 1905, was unveiled a memorial window to him. He matriculated at Emmanuel College, October 25, 1627.

In 1631 Harvard received his Bachelor's degree at Emmanuel, and four years after his Master's. In 1637 he became a freeman of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay; and the next year, he died. The only records regarding him are two references: one, contained in "New England's First Fruits," published in 1643, represents him as a "godly gentleman and a lover of learning." In the autobiography of Thomas Shepard, a fellow-student at Emmanuel with Harvard, it is said of him that he was a "scholar, and pious in his life, and enlarged toward the country, and the good of it, in life and death." Such is the content of our knowl-

edge regarding the man whose name the oldest American college and university bears. But this is enough, as says a son of Harvard College, Charles Eliot Norton: "The imagination is content with this firm, broad outline; no likeness, however filled with detail, could much better this portrait. We see him now as one of the Great-hearts of his generation, whom England begot, Cambridge bred, and Emmanuel in especial nurtured; men who went forth from here full of the faith which gives steadiness to high resolve, rich in the culture which invigorates as well as refines, and strong in a courage which no perils could daunt because its source was in the Rock of Ages; men who went forth to cross the vast and solitary sea, and in the wilderness on its further shore to lay the little stones which were to prove the more than Cyclopean foundations of an unparalleled commonwealth, not unworthy to be called by the great name of New England." [1]

The memory of Harvard is perpetuated in the college that gave him his first degree. In the beautiful little chapel are windows memorial to Cranmer, Anselm, St. Augustine, Origen, Colet, Tyndale, John Smith, Law, Sancroft, Bedell, and others who embody the essence and spirit of the Puritan tradition under diverse conditions in widely separated ages. Conspicuous among these memorials is a window to John Harvard. It stands as a companion piece to the memorial of Lawrence Chaderton. The figure is scholarly and fine; the face delicate and pure. Back of the figure of Harvard is a representation of his monument at Charlestown, and of a ship.[2]

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[1] Address at Tercentary Festival of Emmanuel College, pp. 17, 18.

[2] In 1904 a tablet was placed in the Chapel of Emmanuel College bearing the following inscription:

"In memory of John Harvard, A.M. A member of Emmanuel College, who emigrated to Massachusetts Bay, and there dying in 1638, bequeathed to a college newly established by the General Court, his library and one-half of his estate. Wherefore his name is borne by Harvard College, that eldest of the seminaries which advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity throughout America. This tablet, erected by Harvard men, records their gratitude to their founder in the College which fostered his beneficent spirit."

The inscription was written by a professor of Harvard College who was Clark lecturer at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1902, Prof. Barrett Wendell. The expense was also borne by another Harvard man, Mr. Edwin Vernon Morgan.

The further remaining official legal acts for the establishment of the college were few and simple. Six years, to the very day, after the passing of the vote founding the college, in the year of 1642, was passed an act by the General Court at Boston establishing the Overseers of Harvard College. Full power and authority for instructing, guiding, and furthering of the college and its members in piety, morality, and learning, and in all material concerns, was given to the Overseers of the College, among whom were the teaching elders of the six nearest towns. It was seen that this Board was too large to take up the direction of the college. After eight years, therefore, a charter was granted by the General Court which made the college a Corporation. This Corporation consisted of a president, five fellows, and a treasurer. It was a close corporation, choosing its own members. It was known and is known at the present time as President and Fellows of Harvard College. The granting of the charter did not do away with the existence of the Board of Overseers. From that early time until the present the Corporation and the Board of Overseers have, despite several attempts to change the government of the college, remained as co-working, and, in certain respects, as coördinate bodies. The general relation of the Overseers to the Corporation is expressed in a phrase of the charter of 1650, "provided the said orders be allowed by the Overseers."

The Corporation has the power of initiative; its field of action covers the entire field of collegiate administration, intellectual and material; but its acts are subject to revision by the Board of Overseers. Thus there was introduced into the organization of the American college the double system of control. This system was, with modifications, an adaptation of the Upper and Lower House, which has prevailed in most political governments, either republican, or of the constitutional monarchical type. Into the second college founded in New England was introduced the system of control by a single body.

The method of academic government thus established was somewhat like that in force at Oxford and Cambridge. Harvard College, as established, has a government similar both to the university system and to the college system. It did not, however,

adopt the method of control and government of a college or university by its own immediate teaching force. The control was put outside of what to-day would be called the Faculty. The leading men of the Massachusetts Colony were wise. The history of the government of the two great English universities and their colleges by their own fellows and immediate members has, on the whole, been a history of jealousy, inconsistency, and inefficiency.

The simplicity, however, of the academic government was and is in marked contrast with the elaborateness of the government of the English university. The contrast in the educational field is as great as it is in the ecclesiastical. The independency of the Congregational Church in America is somewhat akin to the simplicity of the organization of the first college. The University of Oxford is governed by at least four bodies. The first is the House of Convocation, which is the supreme governing body making permanent statutes or temporary decrees and controlling expenditures. The second body is the Congregation of the University of Oxford, which is, in a sense, the lower house of the Convocation. Before a statute is introduced into the Convocation it must be passed by the Congregation. The Congregation alone has the right of amending statutes. The third body is the Ancient House of Congregation, which is a power somewhat similar to the Congregation. Its fourth body is the Hebdomadal Council, which may be called a still lower house, having the exclusive right of making all proposals which are finally laid before Convocation. In addition to this quadrilateral method of control the University holds relation to the individual colleges. The colleges are distinct corporations, and over them the University has no legal control. But every student of a college is also a member of the University. The University requires that each of its members shall be a member of a college. James Bryce has compared the relation between the colleges and the University to the relation existing between the separate States of the United States and the General Government; the comparison is, on the whole, fairly exact. But such elaborate and complex methods of academic control the founders of the first college in America swept entirely away.

The first Master of Harvard College was Nathaniel Eaton.

The college was called school as well as college, and its chief officer was known as schoolmaster. Of Eaton little can be said. It is fortunate for his reputation that so little can be said, for the little is bad, and significant of worse. At the time of his coming to America his age was about thirty. He seems to embody all unworthy qualities, and few or none worthy. Passionate, revengeful, cruel, stubborn, ungrateful, vain, he had all the evil characteristics of Keate, of Eton—who reigned for a quarter of a century—without the great qualities which make Keate's administration magnificent. His whippings of students—and whippings continued to be for a century a method of academic discipline—were clubbings. His confessions of too great severity were the wailings of the hypocrite. Under sentence of court and church he escaped to Virginia. For about a score of years in that domain he tried to unite the duties of the clergyman with the habits of the drunkard. On the restoration of Charles II. he returned to England and became a clergyman of the Church. Having the traditional bitterness of the new convert toward former associates, he persecuted dissenters. His end was a fitting crown to his life; he died in prison, where he was sent for debt. Eaton's dismissal from Harvard reminds one of the exclusion of Belsire, the first president of St. John's, Oxford, from his office for cheating the founder.

In this academic pillory which tradition has erected stands, with Eaton, his wife. Her association with the early college is hardly less evil than her husband's. If his character was bad, the food which she offered the students was worse. The lack of beef, the badness of fish, the sourness of bread, represent conditions against which the men complained, and to which Mrs. Eaton confessed. The revolt against Mrs. Eaton is the first of many bread-and-butter rebellions which help to make the history of education in America picturesque. That the commons were not permanently bad is evidenced by the pleasant fact that in 1646, Mitchel, a tutor, thought so well of the provision that on the occasion of his marriage the supper was served from the college buttery.

The first officer of Harvard College to bear the title of President was Henry Dunster. The title has come, with a few excep-

tions, to stand for the chief executive of the American college. Other titles are more common in Oxford and Cambridge. The head of University College, of Balliol and of Pembroke is called Master; of Merton, New, All Souls, Wadham, Keble, Warden; of Exeter and Lincoln, Rector; of Oriel, Queens, Worcester, Provost; of Christ Church, Dean; of Brasenose, Jesus, and Hertford, Principal; and the head of Magdalene, Corpus, Trinity, and St. John is called President. With the exception of provost, as the Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, and of Chancellor, preserved in a few State universities, the title of president has usually been applied to the head of the American college and university. The chief officer of Yale was, however, for almost its first half century known as Rector.

Dunster was chosen president at the beginning of the academic year of 1640 and 1641. He was a graduate of Magdalene, Cambridge—a Puritan stronghold, like Sidney and Emmanuel. He came to his office in America at the time when the similar office at the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge was increasing in usefulness and dignity. The Puritan party abroad demanded that the head of a college should be a clergyman. This demand was opposed by some, who declared that the duties of certain headships could be better performed by a layman. Fuller, in his happy sketch, of happy title, "The Good Master of a College," affirms that ability as an administrator is, in certain conditions, more important than clerical relationships. Fuller holds that the duties of a head of a college consist in being a good example in observing the college laws, in the proper carrying forward of college discipline, in basing elections to fellowships upon merit, and in supervising the financial interests of the foundation. It is apparent that Dunster embodied the Puritan demand and the qualities which Fuller names in a somewhat unusual degree.

Magdalene was distinguished above others of the Cambridge colleges by the power which it intrusted to its president. How far, therefore, the example of this office fitted Dunster to be the first president of America's first college may be asked, but the question cannot be answered. But in ability and in training it is plain that Dunster was well fitted to be the first in a great succession. He is called by his contemporaries "learned, rever-

ent, and judicious, . . . abundantly fitted and conscionable, . . . industrious ''; his preaching was described as '' very powerful to a man's affection,'' and what is quite as important, in the opinion of some college men, he was able to have a '' good inspection in the well ordering of things for the students' maintenance.'' He seems to have united vigilance, judgment, knowledge, and the power of initiative. Under him the college was formally established; its rules were made, its laws framed, its conditions fixed. For the six years after its founding, the college was rather a personal association than a formal and complete corporation. The legal conditions became more fixed in 1642. In securing them Dunster was probably useful; and for the granting of the charter of 1650 he was a most efficient agent. He was a benefactor as well as an administrator. He contributed of his little property towards its support. With the aid of friends he built the first President's House. He established the first Students' Aid Society. He urged the Commissioners of the United Colonies to recommend that every family contribute a quarter part of a bushel of corn, or its equivalent, for the diet of needy students. He was the first college president to appeal for books for the college library. He especially asked for works in law, philosophy, physics, and mathematics.

Dunster was a man of the modern spirit—alert, aggressive, of high purposes, tireless, human. He had a sternness that at times seemed to approach severity, and a fixedness in aim that gave ground for the charge of stubbornness.

The service which President Dunster rendered to the college, and through the college to humanity, was not only academic. In the fall of 1638 the Rev. Jesse Glover left England, bearing along in his ship a printing press. The press was in due time set up in Cambridge, but Glover himself had died on the passage. By the direction of the officers of the colony it was made '' an appendage to Harvard College.'' The press, however, was the property of the widow of Glover. In the year 1641 Dunster married her, and to him as President of the College, and the husband of the widow of the former owner, the press came to hold a special relationship. The residence of the first President of Harvard College became the first printing office in America. It

may be added that the first important work that was issued from this press was a metrical translation of the Psalms. Of the first edition of a revision of this work Dunster was the proof-reader. But of an edition further revised and improved he was the editor.

In two hundred and sixty-seven years there have been twenty-two presidents of Harvard College. Excluding the present head, the longest term was that of Edward Holyoke, of thirty-two years, and the shortest, John Rogers, in 1683, of one year. The average length, therefore, of service was exceeded by Dunster by about two years. In 1653 he declared his disbelief in infant baptism, and declined to present his own child at the font. This offense resulted in his indictment by the grand jury, his conviction by the court, his public admonition, and his being put under bonds for good behavior. A further result was his resignation of the office of president. In poverty and humiliation he resigned his office and threw himself upon the mercy of the General Court. He asked to be allowed to stay in the president's house for a time; the request was granted. His salary—which he had received not in money or kind but in town-rates, he himself being the tax-gatherer—was in arrears, and no full settlement was made during his lifetime. To him the Corporation of the College was far more gracious than the General Court. But to the General Court he wrote, in one of his farewell epistles, with tenderness and appreciation: "The whole transaction of this business is such, which in process of time, when all things come to mature consideration, may very probably create grief on all sides; yours subsequent, as mine antecedent. I am not the man you take me to be. Neither, if ye knew what, should, and why, can I persuade myself that you would act, as I am at least tempted to think you do. But our times are in God's hands, with whom all sides hope, by grace in Christ, to find favor; which shall be my prayer for you, as for myself."[1]

From the presidency of Harvard College Dunster went to the pastorate of the church in Scituate. Here he served a dozen years, and here he died. His body was brought to Cambridge for

[1] Quincy's "History of Harvard University," I, pp. 19, 20.

burial. For Mitchel, who was pastor of the Cambridge church when Dunster resigned from the presidency, and who aided in making his resignation inevitable, and for his successor in office, he seems to have had a warm heart; he calls each of them his "reverend and trusted" friend in his will, and names them appraisers of his library.[1]

Henry Dunster succeeded Charles Chauncy in the pastorate of the church at Scituate, and Charles Chauncy succeeded Henry Dunster as president of Harvard College. Born in Hertfordshire in 1592, passing through the grammar school at Westminster, Chauncy received his university training in Trinity College, Cambridge. A Hebraist and Hellenist, and chosen to professorships of these two languages, he yet found in theology his favorite study. Leaving Cambridge, he served as minister in two parishes. His career in the second, at Ware, was in 1629 interrupted by the high policy of Laud. He had expressed sentiments opposed to the principles and methods of the High Commission. He made recantation and confession, a fact which he lamented until the day of his death. He came to Plymouth. After serving as minister at Plymouth and Scituate for fifteen years, he determined to return to England. The Puritan party was in power. But as he was about to set sail he was, late in 1654, elected president. For seventeen years, until the age of fourscore, he continued in the office. He was one of the few college presidents who died at or near the close of his term. In the February following the Commencement at which he had spoken his valedictory, he died.

The administration of Chauncy was that of the scholar, as Dunster's had been that of the executive. His eminence as a scholar long remained as a tradition in both Old England and New. He was faithful, laborious, industrious. He began his studies of each day, as was the tradition concerning John Milton, at four o'clock, summer and winter. To the students he was a guide and a friend. There was also in his nature an element which his contemporaries called hasty, passionate, mobile. One condition prevented his administration from being happy to himself. It is the condition which occupies a constant place in the

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[1] Sibley's "Harvard Graduates," I, p. 150.

history of unhappy college presidencies—the lack of proper financial support. The state of the heart and mind as well as of the purse of President Chauncy is well set forth by a petition which early in his administration he made to the General Court and the government. He declares that the portion of English corn previously given to him has been used in paying debts caused by the expense of living. He also declares that the Indian corn will not pass for either food or clothing, except with great loss. He affirms that he has no ground for keeping cattle, so that neither milk, butter, nor cheese can be had but by purchase. He also asserts that he has no other means of support than the allowance which the government makes to him. His family is large, consisting of ten persons, and he affirms that the greatness and multitude of college businesses doth require the whole man, and one free from other distractions. He therefore petitions that his grievance may be removed, in order that "God may not be dishonored, nor the country blemished, nor your petitioner and his family cast upon temptations or enforced to look out to alter his condition." There is reason to fear that this prayer was denied, for eight years after he again declares that his salary is not sufficient to buy food and raiment for his family, and that he had been compelled to fall into debt. The financial embarrassments of the family did not cease with his death, for his son requests that the balance due on his salary may be paid to a "dear, distressed brother," who was unable to support himself.[1]

Chauncy published many sermons which, in not a few passages, show a force characteristic of a later time. But in general they seem pedantic; Hebrew, Latin, and Greek are frequently quoted. The works which President Chauncy published are only a small share of those which he wrote. His manuscripts were inherited by his eldest son; they were by him transmitted to his grandson; on his death his grandson left them to his widow. The widow afterwards married. Her new husband was a baker in Jonathan Edwards's parish of Northampton. The baker made use of the manuscripts of the second president of Harvard College by putting the sheets at the bottom of his pies in the oven.

[1] Quincy's "History of Harvard University," I, pp. 28, 29, 468, 469.

"Thus," says the painstaking historian of "American Literature," "the eloquent and valuable writings of Charles Chauncy were gradually used up, their numerous Hebrew and Greek quotations, and their peppery Calvinism, doubtless adding an unwonted relish and indigestibility to the pies under which they were laid."[1]

Between the death of Chauncy in 1672, and the election of Mather as president in 1685, intervene three administrations. The biographies and administrations of President Hoar and President Oakes are similar. They were the first two presidents who were graduates. They had been students at the College at the same time, Oakes graduating in 1649 and Hoar in 1650. Soon after graduation both had returned to England. They were settled in the ministry in England and were alike unsettled for nonconformity. They returned to the New World within a few months of each other. Oakes became a pastor of the church in Cambridge in 1671, and Hoar in the year following of the Old South Church of Boston.[2]

During the presidency of these two men the College did not progress. In 1674 it is declared to be in a languishing and decaying condition. The General Court orders the officers and students to appear before itself to take measures for its future nourishing and establishment. The causes of decline are not evident; but apparently jealousy without and unpopularity within college walls were controlling forces. The scholarship of Hoar was high, almost too high for the demands and appreciation of the new community. It is also evident that his spirit was not conciliatory. Stung by mortification, feeling himself cruelly used, he retired from the presidency. The shame of the conclusion of his short term of three years hastened his death, which occurred in 1675.

Oakes consenting to become superintendent, served four years in this capacity, and in 1679 became president. He died only two years after. The services of Oakes were faithful, indefatigable; his character was pure, without brilliancy; his piety

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[1] Tyler's "History of American Literature," I, p. 226.
[2] Quincy's "History of Harvard University," I, p. 36.

warm. Modest and learned, he gave an administration which, though brief, was happy, and let it not be added, that because it was brief, happier to the college as well as to himself than either of the three preceding presidencies. While he was president he continued to serve as pastor of the First Church, a double service not infrequently rendered by his immediate successors, and by the first presidents as well of Yale and of William and Mary College.

The presidency of the last years of the first century of the College was that of Increase Mather. For the years preceding his election in 1685, and for the years following his exclusion in 1701, he was in many respects the most conspicuous citizen. The daughter of John Cotton was his wife, and the first of the ten children born to them bore the name of Cotton Mather. The two-thirds of a century from 1664, when Increase Mather was ordained minister in Boston, down to the death of Cotton Mather in 1728, may be called the reign of the Mathers. Singularly alike were the father and the son. They each entered Harvard College at the age of twelve. They each also showed a precocity of learning and of ability, which, however, was not the precursor of early decline. Each was the pastor of the same church, and the pastorate was for many years a co-pastorate. Each used his pastorate not only as a watchtower, but also as a throne. Nothing occurred in the colony which was to them foreign. One was president of Harvard College and the other wanted to be, and in the opinion of many people ought to have been. Both felt themselves wronged by the College, the elder because he was excluded from the presidency, and the other because, as he himself says in his diary, "the corporation of our miserable College do again (upon a fresh opportunity) treat me with their accustomed indignity and malignity,"[1] in not electing him to its chief office. But whether president or not president, the Mathers for two-thirds of a century helped to make or to mar the College. Through act and through character their influence was potent. About 1680 Increase Mather formed a "philosophical society of agreeable gentlemen," which was the first of its kind

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[1] Sibley's "Harvard Graduates," III, p. 22.

formed in America. For four years, in the critical times of 1688, he served as representative of the Colony at the English Court. He laid the grievances of his countrymen, occasioned by the despotisms of Dudley and Andros, before the king. He secured a charter which united Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Maine, and which kept Plymouth from being annexed to New York. He secured a new and enlarged charter for the College, which, however, by reason of the failure of royal approval, never became operative. He was at once a politician and an ecclesiastic, a clergyman and a citizen.

His son Cotton was less of a politician, but possessed apparently greater influence in the State through personal character. Both of them were involved in the promotion of the witchcraft delusion. The only case, to my knowledge, of the official burning of a book in the College yard occurred under the direction of President Mather. The book was a volume of Calef, directed against the horrible madness.

But both the Mathers throughout their long reign represent mighty qualities of character and of intellect. In them also were likewise united opposing qualities. Although exceedingly able in intellect, their passions were easily aroused. They were both efficient in service, yet officious in performance. Learned beyond their times, they were pedantic. Laborious and industrious in an age distinguished for toil, finding sixteen hours a day no uncommon period of labor, they yet had strength for many social diversions and avocations. Self-centered and self-seeking, they were yet generous with their little properties and with all their powers in the service of the community. Restless and violent in temperament, they yet were stubborn and persistent. Having minds trained to weigh evidence, they still were prejudiced and suspicious. Gifted by nature, they were unwilling that such treasures should be made the basis of any excuse for a failure to improve. Scholarly, they yet had the power of initiative. Seeking to do immediate duty, they had relations through correspondence not only with England and Scotland, but also with Holland and Germany. Preaching the gospel of peace and forgiveness, they yet were free to accuse Governor Dudley as guilty of covetousness, lying, hypocrisy, treachery, bribery, Sabbath-

breaking, robbery, and murder. Prodigious writers themselves, they read more books than anyone in America of their time, and it would be almost safe to add that their writings represent more extensive reading than do the books of any author, with few exceptions, of the present day.

To men of such character and power the fortunes of the College at the close of its first century and the beginning of its second were committed.

The administrations of the five men who served as the earliest officers of Harvard College were causes of sorrow to themselves and to their associates. The case of Eaton can be eliminated, for Eaton was a rascal. Dunster and Chauncy represent not only the first of all college presidents, but also the first of a long list of unhappy college presidents. One of the successors of Dunster and Chauncy and Hoar, Josiah Quincy, and the historian of the university, says: "After years of duty unexceptionally fulfilled, both experienced the common fate of the literary men of this country at that day,—useless labor, unrequited service, arrearages unpaid, posthumous applause, a doggerel dirge, and a Latin epitaph."[1]

The general cause of unhappiness in academic administrations, whether ancient or recent, lies at once both in the president and in the governing bodies. The president is in peril of interpreting his work as possessing an importance with which governing boards do not credit it. Eager, aggressive, tireless, the executive desires that the college shall advance; lacking the virtue or the defect of patience, he becomes either aggrieved or irritated. In this condition it is easy for him to ask to be relieved from his office, or, if he does not see fit to ask for relief, and continuing in the condition of irritability, the result is also lamentable. Humiliated or maddened, he becomes the cause of irritation to his official superiors or subordinates. Often, too often, it must be confessed, he lacks those gentler qualities which Thomas Fuller suggests as the attributes of "The Good Master of a College."[2] Governing boards, on the other hand, are usually composed of gentlemen

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[1] "History," I, pp. 14, 15.

[2] "The Holy State and the Profane State," Book II, Chapter XIV.

to whom the college is not of primary significance. Other interests or concerns are to them dearer, and demands other than those which the college makes are more imperative. Therefore they are willing to permit the college to pursue its ordinary methods under unchanging conditions unto easily attainable ends. For the active president, therefore, they entertain respect, but they lack sympathy with him and are liable to refrain from cooperation with him. Presidents lack patience and staying power; governing boards lack the spirit of progressiveness. The list, therefore, of American college presidents has on the whole been a history of burdened hearts often breaking, of noble plans, nobly conceived, rudely and suddenly nipped or slowly withering. Great exceptions are to be found, but the common griefs and the not unusual result had their beginning in Dunster, and to a degree in Chauncy—the first two presidents of the first American college.

The larger share of the duty of government and instruction in the first half century of Harvard College was committed to the president. But with Dunster were associated two assistants; the first two who were appointed were Downing and Bulkley, of the Class of 1642. The salary of each was Four Pounds a year. The hours of instruction a week of all the classes in the first decade number only thirty-three. At that time the present formal division and requirements of four years had not obtained a secure footing. It is probable that the length of the College course at first was not precisely determined. Both three years and four years are mentioned in the earliest documents. As early, however, as 1655, four years was made the normal period.[1] Frequently graduates continued their studies at the College after they had taken their first degree until the second, of Master of Arts, was granted. Each class, therefore, was given only eleven hours of instruction. Three hours of the morning and three hours of the afternoon of each of five days, together with a similar use of the morning of the last day of the week, would represent thirty-three hours. The tabular view, to apply a term now in use at Harvard to a Harvard condition of the first decade,

[1] Mass. Hist. Soc., XIV, 211.

shows that the three morning and the three afternoon hours were, with minor exceptions, continuous. Two classes apparently did not recite at the same hour. The first-year class had recitation at eight o'clock, the second-year class at nine, and the third-year at ten. A similar method was pursued in the three hours of the afternoon, beginning at two. One-third of the thirty-three hours a week is now regarded as a proper amount for the ordinary professor in the ordinary American college to instruct. But in the public schools, existing for two and a half centuries, five and six hours of instruction a day is regarded as normal. The first college in its first years was apparently in some essential respects a higher type of the present public school.

The course of study of the college of any age usually represents that degree of knowledge which man has attained. The course is a microcosm of humanity's acquaintance with itself and with nature. Every enlargement of the field of knowledge has resulted in the enrichment of the academic curriculum. Great is the difference, moreover, between knowledge as knowledge and knowledge as a tool of intellectual training. Time is required for the transmutation of pure science into a practical agency or condition of discipline. The academic course, therefore, of any age is the resultant of the knowledges of the past. It is also determined by the special demands of its own time and place.

The curriculum of the first American college, however, fails adequately to represent the knowledge which the world had secured in the first third of the seventeenth century. Time was required for its introduction into the academic course. The great enlargement of the field of learning which was occurring had not found its way into the field of the curriculum. Copernicus had indeed died in 1543, but Tycho Brahe, who adhered to and improved the Ptolemaic system, lived until the first year of the seventeenth century. It is not to be forgotten that the Pope's Bull condemning the Copernican system was issued in 1616. The age was at once the age of literature and of science. It was the age of Shakespeare, who died just a score of years before Harvard College was founded, and of Francis Bacon, who died halfway between the death of Shakespeare and the founding

of the College. Galileo was still living, and passed away in the year that the first class of nine received its degrees, which was also the year of the birth of Newton. It was the age of Kepler, of Napier, who invented logarithms, and of Harvey, the founder of modern physiology. The drama was in its golden age. The predecessors, the successors, the contemporaries of Shakespeare, would have been great lights in any age in which the light of the greatest did not shine. Newton, Beaumont, Fletcher, Ben Jonson, not to speak of Edmund Spenser or of John Milton, represent the highest elements of a great age.

Yet few of the influences embodied in and going forth from these personalities, scientific and literary, are seen in the curriculum of either Oxford or of the old or the new Cambridge. Time was required to transmute the humanism of literature or the truths of science into the curriculum of colleges that were primarily seminaries of the church.

The course of study in the new Cambridge was in many respects like, and in many respects unlike, the course of study in the old Cambridge. About one-third of the time of the first Harvard students was given to philosophy. Philosophy in every age has a most elastic connotation, but in the Harvard curriculum it represented physics as well as logic, ethics, and politics. Greek came next in importance, a study in which special attention was given to the language of the New Testament. The third place belonged to rhetoric, in which speaking seems to occupy a place at least approaching in importance that assigned to writing. Oriental languages, including Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac, represent about one-sixth of the time of the entire course. Mathematics fell into a most insignificant order, representing about one-fifteenth of the whole curriculum. The catechism, history, and botany stood also for subordinate studies.

Little specific attention was given to Latin; no formal mention of the study was made in the curriculum. It is probable that the students had, in their preparatory studies, read the larger share of all the texts which they could secure. But there is also reason to believe that this study did not entirely cease, for the whole course was saturated with a Latin atmosphere. If not read, it was spoken; and if not read in formal ways, it

was read in informal ways, constituting doubtless, in a certain measure, a condition for pursuing other studies.

The chief difference between this curriculum of the new and the curriculum obtaining at the old Cambridge in the middle of the seventeenth century lay in the absence of theology. In the Puritan colleges, or in what may be called the Puritan university of the Old World, theology occupied a chief place. In the Puritan college of the New World theology had no separate and distinct place assigned. The students on the Cam who desired distinction in Church or State, or who were eager for intellectual fame, were students of theology. Thomas Aquinas had ceased to be a Master, but Calvin, through his "Institutes," still ruled the academic mind. No such dominance of theology is apparent in the first Harvard curriculum. The founders and governors were determined to be no more bound by Geneva in matters educational, than they were bound by Canterbury and York in concerns ecclesiastical.

The small place, too, which mathematics occupied is significant. The mathematical studies began in the last year, and consisted of arithmetic and geometry, together with astronomy. Algebra was unknown. The little mathematics which the new college taught was a transcript of an amount certainly no greater than that taught at the English Cambridge. Mathematics at this time was regarded as more mechanical than scholastic. The best mathematicians were found in London, not in either Oxford or Cambridge. Descartes published his first great work in 1637. It is not to be forgotten that Sir Isaac Newton was not born until the year when the first class graduated from Harvard College; he entered Trinity, Cambridge, in 1660. The absence of mathematical studies from the curriculum continued to be significant until the middle of the eighteenth century.

It is also to be noted that no small share of the work of the curriculum was devoted to "disputes" and "disputations." The terms represent debates upon philosophical subjects. The questions smell of the lamp. They are children of the mediæval schoolmen. They are grammatical, rhetorical, and philosophical. "Prudence is the most difficult of all the Virtues," "Justice

is the Mother of All the Virtues," " No Sin can be Committed unless one is a Free Agent," represent the type.

The presence of debate in the curriculum, then as now, is significant. In the decade previous to the outbreak of the War of the Revolution this form of the higher education was very popular. It represented as it still represents the desire for the adjustment of the training given by the College to public needs. The literary life of the time made its appeal to the ear rather than to the eye. There was only one printing press for many years in the Colony. The writing of books was uncommon; the reading of new books was also uncommon. There were few new books to read. Public opinion was influenced more by the orator than by the author. The literary training which in the modern college is given largely through reading, was given in the first college largely through speaking. It was not until Addison and his contemporaries and successors had written their great essays that the literary value of reading as a form of academic training became appreciated. The early oratorical culture of the college was argumentative and forensic. It was felt, as was said by the Master of Emmanuel College, that oratory is very useful and necessary not only in all professions of learning, but in any course of life whatsoever. Logic without oratory was dry and unpleasing, and oratory without logic was but empty babbling.

The first curriculum, thus constituted of philosophy, linguistic and rhetorical studies, together with mathematics, was arranged in a form to produce concentration. The attention of each class was directed for the whole day to one or two studies. Each class usually had two recitations, one in the morning and one in the afternoon each day. The first-year class having logic in the first hour of the morning as a theory, devoted the first hour of the afternoon to " practice." The first-year class having Greek and etymology and syntax in the first hour of the morning, gave the first hour of the afternoon to practice of the principles of the grammar. It is also not without interest that the concentration was not confined to a class; it applied to time as well. In the first course of study Monday and Tuesday were, with a few exceptions, given to philosophical studies,

Wednesday and Thursday to linguistic, Friday to rhetorical, and Saturday to a catechism in theology, together with a little of history, and a little of botany in the summer months.

This course of study, with minor changes, continued until the middle of the eighteenth century. The changes wrought in it in more than a hundred years were less than the changes that are wrought in the ordinary curriculum of the ordinary college in the course of a decade. Conservatism obtained in the first American college, as it had obtained on the whole throughout the history of the mediæval universities.

At the time that this curriculum was in vogue at Harvard a not dissimilar course was pursued at Emmanuel College. In the first two years of the four, logic and Latin were the two favorite studies. Logic and allied subjects belonged to the morning, language to the afternoon. Besides logic, ethics, physics, and mathematics had a small place. The chief Latin authors were Cicero, Terence, Ovid, Sallust, Virgil, Horace, and Martial. Greek grammar also occupied a slight share of the time, and toward the close of the second year Theocritus was read. The third year was devoted quite entirely to Latin and Greek, Aristotle and Demosthenes being the two chief authors. These languages occupied also a larger part of the fourth year, but to them are to be added Homer, and also Lucretius, Livy, Plautus, Seneca; a summary of Christian theology was also included.

As one compares the two courses of study of Emmanuel of old Cambridge, and of Harvard of the new, one is impressed by the greater variety of subjects offered in the new college. Both courses were lacking, according to modern standards, in mathematics and the sciences, but the Harvard course was the less deficient. Apparently Dunster and his successors were determined to provide the best curriculum possible, not being too greatly moved by ancient standards.

In the year 1841, Professor Kingsley, of Yale College, wrote to his colleague, the first Professor Silliman, saying, "Let them at Cambridge try experiments, and we will try to profit by them. They are better able to experiment than we are."[1] From the

[1] Fisher's "Life of Benjamin Silliman," vol. i, p. 401.

first, innovation has been characteristic of the oldest American college.

A curriculum composed of ancient languages—Greek, Hebrew, and Latin—of philosophy broadly interpreted, represents a most worthy instrument and condition of discipline. For to these three ancient nations concerned the modern world is most deeply indebted. By the Hebrew has been offered the gift of religious culture. Through the Greek the modern world has elevated its standards of literary and æsthetic taste. The Greek represents the principle of appreciation. One may not go so far as does Sir Henry Sumner Maine, in saying that "except the blind forces of nature, nothing moves in this world which is not Greek in its origin."[1] But one can without exaggeration say that the literary and æsthetic worth of modern civilization is, in its beginning and early progress, Greek. A curriculum, too, which is essentially Roman represents a worthy contribution to modern affairs. Force, law, power, imperialism, are the great elements of the offering which Rome makes to modern life. The Latin nation also represents combination, coöperation, union. It embodies the civil State and prepares the way for civilization.

The study of the ancient world, as seen in the language and literature of the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Roman, represents one of the mightiest forces for relating oneself to the highest achievements and conditions of man. When with these linguistic pursuits is joined the study of philosophy, the result is of great value. For if language represents man under certain national or individual forms, philosophy presents him as a citizen of the world, as a being having relations to infinite space and eternal time. Such a presentation liberalizes the mind of the student. It dignifies his thought and enlarges his emotions.

There are at least four results which the academic course of study should create. It should make the thinker, the scholar, the gentleman, and the worthy public servant. The worth of a curriculum in training men for the service of the people depends not simply upon the content of the curriculum, but also, and more, upon the spirit in which the curriculum is taught

[1] The Rede Lecture. "Memoir," p. 30.

and upon the character of those who teach it. The same remark applies in a certain degree to the furnishing and equipping of a fine type of the gentleman. It is apparent, however, that the curriculum of the sort obtaining at the new and the old Cambridge lacked in elements of culture. It had few studies designed to train the faculty of high and noble appreciation. It lacked in works and methods of the imagination. Neither was the course designed to make the scholar. It was narrow in content, limited in relationship, confined to elements of each subject. But be it said, positively, that such a course does train the thinker. It teaches the student to judge, to relate fact to fact, to compare and to infer. It trains the intellectual gymnast. It does not create the large mind, but it does create the exact mind. It lacks fullness, breadth, but it does tend to produce depth of thinking. It disciplines the power of apprehension and of comprehension. It aids in seeing individual truths and in uniting individual truths into general conceptions. It tends to create strength, without brilliancy of intellect, and reasoning, without imagination. It helps to make in the realm of mind what the Puritan conception made in the general community an individual, serious, severe, truthful. It fails to represent progressiveness, but it does embody a certain intellectual marking of time which may prove to be an excellent preparation for ultimate intellectual and social advancement. The education made by this curriculum was one well fitted to develop a Puritan community in a new commonwealth and under new conditions —simple, severe, uniform. It served to train a community democratic in Church and State into a natural, simple life of plain living and of high thinking.

It is to be said that the religious element of the early Harvard College, as in the community at large, had intellectual value. The heart warmed the intellect. The conscience clarified the mind. The motive of love for God and for man quickened the student to apply himself earnestly and persistently to the duties which would give him a more adequate preparation for service. The spirit of the pursuit of a study is quite as valuable for securing benefit from a study as is the high character of the study itself. The spirit which Brock and Cooke and Noyes,

Bulkeley and Hubbard—men of the first classes—bore to their work was earnest, profound, enthusiastic. Religion and ethics formed the spring of a constant intellectual stimulus.

The requirements necessary for gaining the right to pursue this simple course of study were also simple. The reading of ordinary Latin prose, and the writing also of Latin prose and verse, an elementary knowledge of Greek, covering the declension of nouns and conjugation of verbs, represented the conditions for admission. Mathematics, English, the sciences, modern and foreign languages were yet to be added to the list of requirements for admission to the Freshman class. As the conditions of admission have become heavy, the curriculum of the college itself has become elaborate. Difficulty or ease of admission has throughout the two hundred and seventy years of the history of the higher education been contemporaneous with the fullness or the meagerness of the course of study which the college itself offers.

In that remarkable tract, "New England's First Fruits" it is said: "And by the side of the college a fair Grammar School for the training up of young scholars, and fitting of them for academical learning, that still as they are judged ripe, they may be received into the college: of this school Master Corlet is the Master, who hath very well approved himself for his abilities, dexterity, and painfulness in teaching and education of the youths under him." It thus appears that established near Harvard College was a school preparatory to it. Of one of those schools it was said it "dandled Harvard College on her knees."[1] The first schools of Massachusetts and of New England were, like the first college, a transfer of English foundations. In Europe, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, a Latin School was the usual agency of secondary education. The school was the direct result of the cathedral and monastic schools of the Middle Ages. Many of the liberally educated Englishmen who came to America had received a share of their education in these schools. It was therefore natural for similar schools to be established in Massachusetts and other colo-

[1] "Boston Public Latin School," p. 5.

nies. The earliest of these schools, and the oldest educational institution having a continuous existence in America, is the Boston Latin School, which, as Phillips Brooks said, "still exists in the freshness of its youth."[1] Within ten years of its beginning in 1635, several other schools were founded. In Charlestown in 1636, in Salem in 1637, in Dorchester in 1639, in Roxbury in 1645, were established schools that prepared youths for the Freshman class of the College. The schools were usually the result of the vote of the citizens of each town, and were supported by direct taxation. But in certain cases private contributions supplemented public appropriations. The Governor, Sir Henry Vane, and the Deputy-Governor, John Winthrop, each gave Ten Pounds toward the establishment of the Boston Latin School. In these schools the names of Pormont of Boston, of Ezekiel Cheever, as well as of Corlet, are conspicuous. Neither were these schools confined to Massachusetts. Ezekiel Cheever appears in the New Haven Colony as well as in Ipswich and Charlestown.

In 1647 was passed by the General Court of Massachusetts the most significant of all the acts ever passed relative to secondary education. It was directed that every township which had fifty householders should offer means for the teaching of reading and writing, and every town of one hundred families should establish a Grammar School which should fit students for the College. Although other acts touching education had been passed, yet this act was most comprehensive. It laid down a law to be observed by all the larger towns, which had in essence already been observed by such towns as Boston, Salem, and Cambridge. It made secondary education free and obligatory. It is also to be noted that this law proceeded not from the religious, but from the civil, power. Within three years of its passage a similar law was enacted in Connecticut. The character of secondary education thus established had great and permanent effect upon the education which the College offered. The College was assured of the coming to itself, year by year, of a number of well-prepared students. These schools were essentially fitting-

[1] Phillips Brooks's "The Oldest School in America," p. 15.

schools for the College. They looked forward to a higher education. The efficiency of the foundations thus made was promoted by donations of individuals or by grants of the State. Of such personal grants the bequest made by Edward Hopkins, of London, was most prominent.

The studies in these Latin Schools were primarily Latin and Greek. If one turn to the curriculum of the English Eton of the same age he finds that Cicero, Virgil, Ovid, Terence, represent the chief authors. Greek has its place, but the place is small.

The students who entered the College entered not simply as students but also as Christians. The rules touching the character and behavior of the men were direct and personal. In many cases the regulations seem to spring forth directly from passages of either the Old Testament or the New. It is directed that everyone shall consider the main end of his life and studies to know God and Jesus Christ, which is eternal life. Students are commended to pray in secret and to read the Scriptures twice a day, in order to secure a knowledge of the principles of the language and logic of the Scriptures, as well as to obey more easily the Commandments. Proper behavior in church is ordered. Profane swearing is interdicted. The rules pass beyond the religious domain. All idle, foolish, bitter, scoffing, frothy and wanton words and offensive gestures are forbidden. The society of men who lead a dissolute life is denied. Buying or selling or exchanging articles up to the value of a sixpence, without the permission of parent, guardian, or tutor, is not allowed. Hard work, constant attendance at recitations, are required under severe penalties. No one is suffered to go out of town without the permission of a college officer or his parents. Latin is specified as the ordinary language for conversation; the use of the mother tongue is denied.

These rules were largely the transcript of rules in force in the English Cambridge. In the English Cambridge, Greek or Hebrew, as well as Latin, was allowed in conversation. Absence from town was permitted only for very definite reasons. Boxing matches, dancing, bear fights, and cock fights represented severe

offenses. Playing cards or dice or reading irreligious books was denied.

The students who were subject to these rules were not Englishmen only. From the time that John Eliot, in 1646, began to preach to the Indians, efforts were made for their education. In 1653 Eliot's "Indian Catechism," in 1661 the Indian New Testament, and in 1665 the Indian Old Testament were printed. The London Society for Propagating the Gospel was a primary force in these missionary efforts. The Society also furnished the money for a hall for Indian students. At least two matriculated; only one apparently ever took a degree. The larger part, in the course of their preparatory studies, became disheartened, some returning to Indian life and others entering on different callings. One became a seaman, another a carpenter, and a third went to England, where he soon died. But Cabel Cheeshahteaumuck persevered, and his name is enrolled as a member of the Class of 1665; but in the next year, at the age of twenty, he fell a victim to consumption, a disease to which the early Indians, subjected to civilization, became an easy prey.

But the life of the students in the early decades of the college was not confined to books or to recitation rooms. If the undergraduate life was simple, it was yet quite as vital and possibly as interesting as the life of to-day. The number of students was small. It is probable that never were there more than fifty men in College. In the first sixty-five years, down to the beginning of Leverett's presidency, five hundred and thirty-one men had received a degree, or an average of about eight each year. The numbers were small compared to the colleges of the English Cambridge. In 1621 Emmanuel College numbered two hundred and sixty members, of which the larger share were students; Queens, two hundred and thirty; Pembroke and Kings, each one hundred and forty; Jesus, one hundred and twenty; St. John's, three hundred and seventy; Trinity—the largest then, as now—four hundred and forty. Harvard was simply a small school, in which every man knew every other, coming into constant and intimate association with each other.

Though the college has always been in many respects the most democratic of all democracies, yet the divisions of the com-

munity in respect to social conditions were transferred to the academic cloister. Students were placed in their classes according to the distinction or official rank which their families held in the State. Apparently such placings were the cause of bitter disappointment and many heartburnings. The higher part of a class had the best rooms, and also the right to help themselves first at the table. But such material advantages were not chief. The sense of superiority in social rank doubtless gave a delight quite as keen to the college man in Massachusetts as it gave to the college man in the old Cambridge. Care was taken in the use of titles. The title Sir was given to a graduate while he was a Bachelor of Arts, and after he had taken the second degree of Master, the title of Mr. was used. The students were young. Among the youngest men who ever took a degree at Harvard College were Cotton Mather, of the Class of 1678, of the age of fifteen; Paul Dudley, of the Class of 1690, of the age of fourteen; and Andrew Preston Peabody, of the Class of 1826, of the age of fifteen. But during the first hundred years all students were young. The average age of the class which entered in 1753 was fifteen years and five months; of the twenty-eight members, one was twelve and a half years old, eight from fourteen to fifteen, twelve from fifteen to sixteen, three from sixteen to seventeen, four from seventeen to eighteen, and one of nineteen. The first President Dwight of Yale College graduated in 1769 at the age of seventeen, and David Humphreys two years later at about the same age. John Trumbull, of the Class of 1767 at Yale, it is said was fitted for College at the age of seven; he delayed entering, however, till he had reached the mature age of thirteen.[1] The youngest graduate of Yale was Charles Chauncey, of the Class of 1792, of the age of fifteen years and twenty-six days. But such early admission was only the transcript of a similar age obtaining in the English Cambridge. Jeremy Taylor was admitted to Caius' College in 1626, at the age of thirteen; Francis Bacon to Trinity in 1573, also at thirteen; Nicholas Ferrar was also admitted at the same age; John Bois joined St. John's in 1583, at the age of fourteen. It may be added that when Pitt

[1] "Yale College," vol. i, p. 96.

entered Pembroke in 1773 he was fourteen. A statute of Elizabeth forbade admission before the age of fourteen. For a long time a paragraph stood in the catalogues of most American colleges that no one was admitted to the Freshman Class under the age of fourteen, or to an upper class at a less relatively early age.

Of the Class of 1681 of Harvard College, consisting, like the first, of nine members, at graduation the ages of two were twenty-one; of four, twenty; of two, seventeen, and the age of one is unknown; the average age, therefore, was probably nineteen and a half years, which is not far from three years less than the average age now prevailing at graduation.

The whole conduct and life of the students, young in years and few in numbers, in the new college in the New World was in deep contrast with the behavior and conditions of the "young gentleman of the University," as he has been painted in the Oxford *Journal* of a later time. "He is one that comes there to wear a gown, and to say hereafter he has been at the University. His father sent him thither because he heard there were the best fencing and dancing schools: from these he had his education—from his tutor, the oversight. . . . His study has commonly handsome shelves, his books neat silk strings, which he shows to his father's man, and is loath to unty or take down for fear of misplacing. Upon foul days, for recreation he retires thither and looks over the pretty book his tutor reads to him, for which his tutor gives him money to spend next day. His main loitering is at the library, where he studies arms and books of honour, and turns a gentleman critic in pedigrees. Of all things he endures not to be mistaken for a scholar, and hates a black suit, though it be made of satin. His company is ordinarily some stale fellow that has been notorious for an ingle to gold hatbands."[1]

There is preserved a letter written by Leonard Hoar while serving as minister in England, before he became president, to his nephew Flynt, who was in 1661 a member of the Freshman Class. The letter is significant of many elements of the

[1] Earle, "Micrososmographie" (1628), Chap. XXV, quoted in J. R. Green's "Oxford Studies," pp. 50, 51.

college curriculum and undergraduate life. "Your account of the course of your studies, as now ordered, under the worthy Mr. Chauncey, is far short of my desire." You should not "content yourself with doing that only which you are tasked to; nor to do that merely as much as needs must, and is expected of you; but daily something more than your task; and that task, also, something better than the ordinary. Thus, when the classes study only logick or nature, you may spend some one or two spare hours in languages, rhetorick, history, or mathematics, or the like. And when they recite only the text of an author, read you some other of the same subject, or some commentator upon it, at the same time. Also, in your accustomed disputations, do not satisfy yourself only to thieve an argument, but study the question before hand, and, if possible, draw, in a book on purpose, a summary of the argument and answers on all hands; unto which you may briefly subjoin anything choice and accurate, which you have heard in the hall, upon the debate of it in public.

"Nextly. As you must read much, that your head may be stored with notion, so you must be free and much in all kinds of discourse of what you read, that your tongue may be apt to a good expression of what you do understand. And further; of most things you must write too; whereby you may render yourself exact in judging of what you hear or read; and faithful in remembering of what you once have known. Touching your writing, . . . let it not be in loose papers . . . nor in a fortuitous vagrant way; but in distinct" paper "books, designed for every several purpose, and the heads of all, wrote aforehand, in every page, with intermediate spaces left (as well as you can guess) proportionate to the matter they are like to contain.

"As to the authors you should distil into your paper books in general; let them not be such as are already methodical, concise, and pithy as possible; for it would be but to transcribe them . . . But let them be such as are voluminous, intricate, and more jejune; or else those tractabuli, that touch only on some smaller tendrills of any science; especially, if they be books that you do only borrow, or hire, to read. By this mean I have kept my library in a little compass (scarce yet having more

books than myself can carry in my arms at once, my paper books only excepted), and yet I have not quite lost anything that did occur in my multifarious wandering readings. Were a man sure of a stable abode in a place for the whole time of his life, and had an estate also to expend, then, indeed, the books themselves in specie were the better way, and only an index to be made of them all.

" One paper book more add," for " such fragments as shall occur . . . to *you* by the by, in your reading, and would for the most part be lost, if not thus laid up.

" Be forward and frequent in the use of all those things which you have read, and which you have collected; judiciously moulding them up with others of your own fancy and memory, according to the proposed occasions; whether it be in the penning of epistles, orations, theses or antitheses, or determinations upon a question, analysis of any part of an author, or imitations of him, *per modum geneseos.* For so much only have you profited in your studies, as you are able to do these.—And all the contemplations and collections, in the world, will but only fit you for these. It is practice, and only your own practice, that will be able to perfect you. My charge of your choice of company, I need not inculcate; nor I hope that for your constant use of the Latin tongue in all your converse together, and that in the purest phrase of Terence and Erasmus. Music I had almost forgot. I suspect you seek it both too soon and too much. This be assured of, that if you be not excellent at it, it is nothing at all; and if you be excellent, it will take up so much of your time and mind, that you will be worth little else. And when all that excellence is attained, your acquest will prove little or nothing of real profit to you, unless you intend to take up the trade of fiddling.

" I shall add but one thing more, for a conclusion; but that the crown and perfection of all the rest, which only can make all your endeavours successful and your end blessed. And that is something of the daily practice of piety, and the study of the true and highest wisdom. And for God's sake, and your own both present and eternal welfare's sake, let me not only intreat, but enjoin and obtain of you that you do not neglect it: no, not

a day. For it must be constancy, constancy, as well as labour, that completes any such work. And if you will take me for an admonitor, do it thus: Read every morning a chapter in the old testament, and every evening, one in the new. . . . And as you read, note lightly with your pen in the margin the several places of remark. . . . Secondly, out of these . . . sentences cull one or two to expiate upon in your own thoughts, half a quarter of an hour, by way of meditation. There use your rhetorick, your utmost ratiocination, or rather your sanctified affections, love, faith, fear, hope, joy, &c. . . . Those two being premised, close with prayer; for this I prescribe, not whether it should be lingual or mental, longer or briefer, only let it, as well as its preparatives, be most solemn and secret. . . . Do not seriously try these three last things for some good while; and reckon me a liar in all the rest, if you find not their most sensible sweet effects, yea, as that Christian Seneca, Bishop Hall, said before one, so I boldly say again, do you curse me from your death-bed, if you do not reckon these among your best spent hours.'' [1]

To the undergraduate of the early time the question of expense was of great importance. The community was poor, incomes were small, money was scarce. The value of a Pound or of a Shilling was five or six times as great as at present. Not a few of the students paid their bills in kind. As one goes through the accounts one finds students credited with butter, rye, malt, wheat, hog, lamb, veal, hens, eggs, and in one instance with a small cow. The general expense included chiefly the permanent elements of board, rum, and fees for instruction.[2]

The expenditures of a student at the New were unlike those of one at the Old Cambridge. Gowns, silver pots, silk stockings, garters, boots, spurs, and the service of a barber are ele-

[1] Sibley's "Harvard Graduates," vol. i, pp. 229–232.

[2] "8, 10, 54. Commones and sizinges £2 8s. 9d. 2qr. Tuition 8s. study rente and beed 4s. fyer and candell 2s. fower loode of wood 17s. 4d.

"9, 1, 54–5. Commones and sizinges £2 16s. 10d. Tuition study rente and beed 12s. wood on load on Jagge 6s. 6d.

"8, 4, 55. Commones and sizinges £2 9s. 11d. Tuition 8s. study rente 2s. beedmakinge 1s. 9d.

"7, 7, 55. Commones and sizinges £1 12s. 7d. 2qr. Tuition 8s. study rente and beed 11s. 7d."—Sibley, "Harvard Graduates," in various places.

ments quite as significant as in some instances more costly than the room and the tuition. Undergraduate life was a life of athletic and of other sports, although they had not assumed the large place which they now fill. Football had been a sport at Cambridge and Oxford long before the first Puritan came to America. Archery, quoits, tennis, handball, and football were the most popular. In the second year of his reign James I. issued an injunction against bear-baiting, bull-baiting, skittles, and nine-holes. Few of these sports were introduced in a formal way into the early college. The members engaging in such fun were few. College spirit must have been slight.

These men, young in years and few in numbers, and serious in purpose, were men of the same general character as those who now come to, and go forth from, the American college. That quips and pranks had at so early a day a delight, there can be no doubt. The freshman regulations and class customs tell the same story told to-day. And the petty offenses show the same spirit of fun, and were punishable by proper fines and restrictions.

The position of the Freshman in the college of the seventeenth century was less desirable than that which he now occupies, and some would say that the position he now occupies is not at all desirable. The newcomer was depreciated. The depreciation was a transfer of a similar feeling from the English colleges. " Salting " and " tucking " were popular methods of initiation into the academic body. In the process of salting, the Freshmen of the older Cambridge were summoned to the hall to make the acquaintance of their seniors. Each was called upon for a sentiment. Those, bold of heart and quick of wit, able to delight the company, were rewarded for their pains by drinks of liquor. But the dull, the slow, the bashful, unable to respond, were given a drink of salt and water, which they were compelled to swallow. Tucking seems to have been a little bit less merciful. It consisted in the Senior making an incision with his fingernail in the lip of the Freshman, or in making a cut from the chin to the lip. As a final part of the process the Senior company required the newcomers to take an oath, which was sworn upon an old shoe, which in turn they were required to kiss. After this

initiation the Freshman was allowed to take his place among the Seniors. Barbarous though these proceedings seem to be, yet they were sanctioned by the College officers.[1] In the American Cambridge is evidence of similar hazings, but the general spirit of subordination of the Freshman seems to show itself in specific and formal rules. The Ancient Customs of Harvard College declare that:

"1. No Freshman shall wear his hat in the College yard, unless it rains, hails, or snows; provided he be on foot, and have not both hands full.

"2. No Undergraduate shall wear his hat in the College yard, when any of the Governors of the College are there; and no Bachelor shall wear his hat when the President is there.

"3. Freshmen are to consider all the other classes as their Seniors.

"4. No Freshman shall speak to a Senior with his hat on; or have it on in a Senior's chamber, or in his own if a Senior be there.

"5. All Undergraduates shall treat those in the Government of the College with respect and deference; particularly they shall not be seated without leave in their presence; they shall be uncovered when speaking to them or are spoken to by them.

"6. All Freshmen (except those employed by the Immediate Government of the College) shall be obliged to go on any errand (except such as shall be judged improper by some one in the Government of the College) for any of his seniors, Graduates or Undergraduates, at any time, except in studying hours or after nine o'clock in the evening.

"7. A Senior Sophister has authority to take a Freshman from a Sophomore, a Middle Bachelor from a Junior Sophister, a Master from a Senior Sophister, and any Governor of the College from a Master.

"8. Every Freshman before he goes for the person who takes him away (unless it be one in the Government of the College), shall return and inform the person from whom he is taken.

"9. No Freshman, when sent on an errand, shall make any unnecessary delay, neglect to make due return, or go away till dismissed by the person who sent him.

"10. No Freshman shall be detained by a Senior, when not actually employed on some suitable errand.

"11. No Freshman shall be obliged to serve any order of a Senior to come to him, or go on any errand for him, unless he be wanted immediately.

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[1] Müllinger's "The University of Cambridge," vol. ii, pp. 400, 401.

"12. No Freshman, when sent on an errand, shall tell who he is going for, unless he be asked; nor be obliged to tell what he is going for, unless asked by a Governor of the College.

"13. When any person knocks at a Freshman's door, except in studying time, he shall immediately open the door, without inquiring who is there.

"14. No scholar shall call up or down, to or from, any chamber in the college.

"15. No scholar shall play football or any other game in the college yard, or throw anything across the yard.

"16. The Freshmen shall furnish bats, balls, and footballs for the use of the students, to be kept at the Buttery."

The hardship of the life of the student was not, however, limited to his first year. After his novitiate he was still subject to many limitations. Rules surrounded him, and rules in the early time, as in the later, were made for college men's breaking. Corporal punishment for almost a hundred years following the foundation of the College was a not uncommon method of chastisement. Thomas Sargeant, of the Class of 1674, being convicted of speaking blasphemous words against the Holy Ghost, was sentenced to be publicly whipped before all the students. The granting of his degree was deferred. He was obliged to sit alone by himself in the Hall, and to do whatever exercises the President should put upon him. Before and after flogging the President offered prayer.[1] Pecuniary fines also represented a method of punishment. It may appear that there was some relation between flogging and money. For by a vote passed in 1656 by the Overseers it is declared that punishment shall be administered by the President and Fellows, either by fine or public whipping, as the nature of the offense may require, but in amount not to exceed ten shillings or ten stripes for one offense. Down to about the middle of the eighteenth century a system of pecuniary mulcts was in vogue.

The mere list of offenses is on the whole alluring. It represents the possibilities of college fun. The sum which the college authorities exacted from the offenders suggests the degree of seriousness which the academic and public mind associated with

[1] Sibley's "Harvard Graduates," vol. ii, pp. 443, 444.

the offense. Absence from or tardiness at college exercises is punished as the most common dereliction. But also going too early, before bell-ringing, is considered an offense. Leaving town or staying out of town demands a heavy penalty. Staying out of town for a week represents ten shillings, and for a month fifty. Going out of the college without proper garb is charged at sixpence, and profane cursing at two and six. Graduates cannot play cards under a charge of less than five shillings, but undergraduates may indulge in the sport at half this sum. The charge for lying or for drunkenness does not exceed one shilling six. "Tumultuous noises" are assessed at the same price as lying or drunkenness. Keeping guns, going out skating, represent one shilling, whereas firing guns or pistols in the college yard represents a cost of twice this amount.

The whole system is a strange mixture of offenses essentially immoral and of offenses arbitrarily assessed as immoral.

The college, however, was not alone concerned with the punishment of academic offenses. The town watch was authorized to exercise his power within the precincts of the college, but he was forbidden to lay violent hands on any of the students other than so far as was necessary to hold them until the president or some other officer could be informed.

Among the earliest records of all college disorders are those of the conflicts between the civil authority and the academic. In many mediæval universities students were subject not to the law of the municipality in which their university was placed, but to the law of the nation of which they were sons and citizens. This condition promoted constant conflict. Collisions, therefore, between the town and the gown were inherited by the first American college. Students were everywhere inclined to regard themselves as first the subjects of the university or college, and that they were immune against civil authority. Within twenty years of the establishment of Harvard differences broke out between the students and the townspeople; and for the disorder at least three Harvard students were censured by the General Court. It is yet to be said that at times the academic authorities were inclined to call upon the civil to enforce their commands. Toward the close of the century, in 1682, the Corporation di-

rected that a student who had been expelled from the college, if he should appear within the college walls, should be carried before the civil authority.

Commencement was the great day of the academic year. It was the great day of the Colony, and, one might add, of New England. It united personal and scholastic, civil and academic, official and student interests. It brought together the largest audience. It represented the high-water mark of the colonial interest in things of the mind. In it centered festivities which now cluster about Class Day, as well as formal scholastic doings. Discussions regarding questions in ethics, philosophy, theology, and linguistics, orations in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, represented the more scholastic parts. Eating, drinking, and singing psalms were also essential elements. In the early part of the eighteenth century the crowds in attendance became so great that the date of the day was kept, so long as possible, a secret. From the early times the government lent prestige and splendor to the function. The day was a type: a union of the Church and of the State, of civil and of academic authority. It represented the flowering forth of the highest and noblest purpose of the colonists and their sons.

Down to the time of the founding of the second college, Harvard had been in existence over half a century, and to the time of the founding of the third, only two years less than two-thirds of a century. In the progress of a nation fifty years may represent a short period. In the progress of a college the first fifty years represent a long, and usually a pregnant, period. In this time Harvard had done much, very much, to justify its foundation.

Founded largely as a theological seminary, it had, in the first sixty-five years, from the graduation of its first class in 1642 down to the beginning of President Leverett's administration, educated five hundred and thirty-one men. In three of these years no Commencement was held. Of the whole number of graduates about half had become clergymen. Among the one hundred towns scattered along the Atlantic coast, and stretching as far inland as Springfield and Northampton, about two hundred and fifty graduates had been installed as pastors.

Their predecessors in the pastorate were graduates of Cambridge and Oxford, and included such men as Cotton, Shepard, and Davenport. The second generation of the settlers of a new community is not usually so able, so refined, so civilized, as the first. The struggle with the elements of soil and sea to get a simple living narrows the opportunity for holding the larger interpretation of truth and of duty, and for securing the graces of gentleness, courtesy, and noble manners. The peril of the second generation of a community is the peril of barbarism. One, however, looks in vain for evidence necessitating such a conclusion regarding the sons of the Puritan immigrants. In this population of farmers and lumbermen, seamen, merchants, and ministers, honor as well as honesty, intellectuality as well as intelligence, high public spirit as well as strong individualisms, pecuniary competency without either poverty or wealth, prevailed. The clergymen of the second generation were as able as those of the first. Increase Mather, graduate of Harvard College, was an abler minister than his father Richard, graduate of Cambridge. Cotton Mather, also a graduate of Harvard, was a still abler minister than his father Increase. Although the first newspaper, *Public Occurrences,* was not published until 1690, and then for only one issue, and although the second newspaper was not published until fourteen years after, yet books were common. Boston began early to lead in the purchase and sale of books. All of the books of American authorship were written by graduates of the College. Samuel Sewall, who wrote a description of the new heaven, of which the new Jerusalem was to be in America; John Wise, eloquent, logical, whose writings helped to make the Declaration of Independence; Jeremiah Dummer, author of a defense of the New England churches; William Hubbard, the historian; John Norton and Michael Wigglesworth, who wrote poetry but were not poets, received their degrees at Harvard in the seventeenth century. The graduates, too, either as clergymen or as teachers, had charge of private and of public education. They were also, in respect to social and other relations, leaders of the community. The clergymen shared with the magistrates the honor and the responsibilities of the prosperity of the individual town and of the general community.

A community in which the clergyman is the chief citizen is a community in which attention is paid to the highest and most abstruse subjects. For the clergyman ministers to the intellect, appeals to the refined taste, and seeks to lift the ethical standards of society. He may or he may not be a teacher of politics, but it is his constant endeavor to enrich the spiritual nature of his constituency. The vigor of intellect, the refinement of taste, the appreciation of great truths, the determination to live worthily, qualities that characterized the people of New England in the seventeenth century, were in a large degree the work of the clergymen of the age, and these clergymen were graduates of Harvard College.

The College also had trained no small number of physicians and of lawyers. Physicians were the more numerous. In the first ten classes appeared no less than five members who had the right to practice medicine. One of the five was Leonard Hoar, who became president. The demands for the service of lawyers were less numerous and usually less urgent. Nevertheless, thirteen of the graduates of the earlier decades came to occupy high judiciary positions in the Colony. In the three great professions, therefore, as well as in literature and teaching, the College had made rich contributions for the enlargement, enrichment, and security of the new commonwealth.

But apart from specific results the College stood in the community as a monument to the worth of mind. Its seal set forth the ultimate value of truth, a value which a new and a democratic community is in grave peril of forgetting. Its seal also declared "Christo et ecclesiae," an ideal which a society obliged daily to toil for daily bread is liable to lose. The college, therefore, represented the continuity of learning and the preciousness of the scholastic and educational tradition. It embodied the supremacy of character as the purpose of spiritual idealism. It stood for life and not for living. It embodied the old cardinal virtues of justice, temperance, and fortitude, and the new cardinal virtues of hope, faith, and charity. It represented what the mother of Increase Mather said to her son when he was an infant, that she desired God to give him grace and learning. "Child," she said, "if God make thee a Good Christian and

a Good Scholar, thou hast all that ever thy Mother Asked for thee."[1] The college sought to represent good scholarship and a noble type of piety in the community.

It is also not to be forgotten that the influence of the College through its graduates upon the mother country was not slight. Out of the first twenty graduates, twelve went to England, and eleven of the twelve there remained. Those who went to England were largely those who had been born there. The opportunity open in the Commonwealth to the graduate of the Puritan college of the New World was certainly less attractive to noblest souls than that which the New World itself could offer. The attractiveness of the new life was indeed strong for hardy, self-denying souls. A new world was to be conquered, a new civilization formed, an old race under new conditions to be set forward in its progress. But most men are not hardy and are not self-denying. The sons of the immigrants had come to America under the direction and tutelage of their parents. On reaching manhood's estate not a few of them seemed to be willing to return. A fellowship at one of the English universities was worth forty pounds, a tutorship at Harvard four pounds. One member of the Class of 1650 obtained an Oxford fellowship of the value of sixty pounds. The most famous of all the men who returned to England was Sir George Downing. His mother was a sister of the first governor of Massachusetts. A member of the Class of 1642, he was one of the two men first appointed as tutors. Within four years after his graduation he returned to England. He became a confidential adviser of Cromwell, and filled important offices at home and abroad for the Great Protector. On the Restoration he came into relations quite as intimate with Charles II. The king well rewarded him in money and place. His whole career is as interesting as a romance. In early New England, apparently, his name was synonymous with that of Judas. His name in England lives in Downing Street, occupying land given to him by the king, and also in Downing College, which was founded in 1800 under the will, after long litigation, of his grandson.

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[1] Sibley's "Harvard Graduates," vol. i, p. 410.

So strong was the movement in the first years of the college for graduates to return to England that the Commissioners of the United Colonies recommended that the General Court of Massachusetts should influence parents to cause their sons to improve their abilities in the service of the Colonies, and not to remove into other countries. But as the number of students who had been born in England diminished, and the number of those who had been born in the New World increased, the tendency to return lessened. Political antagonisms, moreover, arising between the old country and the new proved to be a better preventive than personal counsel.

CHAPTER II

THE SECOND COLLEGE: WILLIAM AND MARY

THE first attempt to establish the higher education in New England was native in its origin and early progress. The first attempt to establish the higher education in Virginia was foreign. Both attempts were made alike by the people and by the government.

Twelve years after the settlement of Jamestown, and one year before the *Mayflower* came to Plymouth, the Virginia Company in old England made a grant of ten thousand acres of land for the foundation of a university at Henrico. Nine thousand acres were to be used as the endowment of a seminary for the English, and a thousand acres for the education of the Indians. In the same year the English bishops raised fifteen hundred pounds to aid Indian education. Two years later a subscription of one hundred and fifty pounds, and a grant of one thousand acres of land, were made for the preparatory school at Charles City. About the same time Sir Thomas Dale, who was twice governor of the colony, and who during his lifetime served with honor in three-quarters of the globe, started a subscription in India, where he was at the time in service, for the founding of a school in Virginia. The sum of seventy pounds was raised for the purpose. The Court was ready to promote so good a work, and ordered the money to be paid over to the Virginia Company. There is evidence of the making of other small contributions. The good will and generosity of the government were evident. Settlers came over to occupy the university lands. George Thorpe, of the Privy Chamber, was sent to be a director of the University.

These philanthropic endeavors for education were made in the teeth of fearful conditions. From the fourteen thousand immigrants who came to Virginia in the fifteen years following

the first landing in 1607, less than thirteen hundred were surviving in 1622. The wealth of vegetation that attracted the settler became the cause of malaria which killed him. Of the remnant of less than thirteen hundred, more than a quarter lost their lives in the Indian massacre of 1622. The decimation was more terrible than that which Plymouth suffered in its first winter.

But within two years after the Indian massacre a still further attempt was made to found a college. On an island of the Susquehanna (now included in the State of Maryland), remote from the danger of assault by the Indian, it was proposed to found a university which should bear the name "Academia Virginiensis et Oxoniensis." The association of the name Oxford with the attempt is pleasantly significant, for the first attempt to establish a university in New England is associated with the name of the University of Cambridge. As if to emphasize the quixotic character of the movement, it was specially proposed to include in the university a school of art. But this further attempt failed. Its chief advocate, Edward Palmer, was not unlike some other founders, more distinguished by energy than by wisdom.

Although as early as 1619 petitions were read in the General Assembly, convened at James City, respecting the erecting of a university or college, yet, despite the aid of the mother country, no result followed. It was not till fifty-three years after the landing that the colony itself became deeply and generally interested. In the year 1660 the colonial Assembly of Virginia voted that "for the advance of learning, education of youth, supply of the ministry, and promotion of piety, there be land taken upon purchases for a Colledge and free schoole, and that there be, with as much speede as may be convenient, housing erected thereon for the entertainment of students and schollers."[1] It was also voted at the same time that the Commissioners of County Courts should take subscriptions for the proposed college, and that the Commissioners should coöperate with the vestrymen of parishes for the raising of money. A petition was also made to the Governor, Sir William Berkeley,

[1] Hening's "Statutes of Virginia," ii, xxv, quoted Adams' College of William and Mary, p. 12.

asking that the king be requested to authorize collections from people in England for the aid of colleges and schools in Virginia. These votes are intimations of a more general and hearty interest in behalf of education than common opinion has usually given to the colonists. Sir William Berkeley's oft-quoted remark, "I thank God that there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years," has been usually interpreted as evidence of the prevalence of either commercialism or barbarism. It is probable that Sir William wished to promote an education of the English type through the household tutor rather than through the public school. He apparently believed that elementary instruction should be given in the home. The higher education he was not opposed to in any such sense as his remark indicates, for he was among those who made subscriptions to found a college for students of the liberal arts and sciences.

Yet it is not to be denied that the indifference of the Virginians to the cause of education of any grade was in lamentable contrast with the interest of the Massachusetts men. The general social standing of the people who came to Virginia was superior to that of the settlers of Massachusetts Bay. The difference was not so great as is usually interpreted, but there was a difference. The difference is indicated in the words Cavalier and Puritan. The Wests, the Fairfaxes, the Wyatts, and the Humes are names of noble English families. Knights, sons of knights and knights-baronets, are found in the number. In a far greater majority among the Virginians than among the Massachusetts settlers are found representatives of the country gentry of England and of Scotland. But also came to the Southern colony in greater proportion blacklegs, scoundrels, criminals, and political prisoners of families of position.

A large part of these people came from London. Of those who were not of the metropolis, the middle-eastern counties furnished the larger share to Virginia. The strictly eastern counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex were largely represented in those who came to Massachusetts. In fact from the same general southeastern part of England the settlers of both Massachusetts and Virginia came. The cause, therefore, of the lack of interest in

Virginia in the higher education is to be sought in other conditions than the general character of the people. The cause is largely twofold: first, the population of Massachusetts was compact; it was centered in a few towns along the coast, each of which was a political individual. The population of Virginia was spread over a large territory. The chief business of the people was the raising of tobacco. For the raising of this crop a large plantation was necessary. The people were therefore scattered. The only two settlements of size were at James City and Elizabeth City; the rest were found in small groups or on isolated farms. In such a condition, in which famine and pestilence, homesickness, strife, and massacre were not uncommon, the cause of education found few elements of prosperity.

But furthermore, the Virginia settlers contained few clergymen, and these few not worthy shepherds of the people. Between the landing in 1607 and the coming of James Blair in 1685, some twelve ministers settled in Virginia. Of these twelve, eight were graduates of Oxford. The whole number itself was small, and the number having a liberal education was relatively smaller. In these seventy-eight years Massachusetts had several times twelve clergymen. These clergymen were genuine shepherds of the people. To think of Massachusetts without Norton and Shepard, without John Cotton and the Mathers, or to think of the Connecticut colonies without Thomas Hooker and John Davenport, is to picture the actual condition of Virginia. A new community, unorganized, depressed, beset by hard conditions, needs wise, inspiring leadership. Such leadership New England found in her clergy. Such leadership Virginia lacked. The result is seen, in the one case, in the foundation of Harvard College six years after the foundation of Boston, and in the other case in a college waiting for its formal establishment almost a century after the landing at Jamestown.

When, however, a worthy clergyman did appear in the southern colony intimations of the founding of a college became more frequent and more significant. The Rev. Dr. James Blair came to Virginia in 1685. He was born in Scotland in 1656. He had taken his degree of Master of Arts at Edinburgh at the early age of seventeen. Of his history, as of John

Harvard's, little is known. He married Sarah Harrison, of Surrey, who was born in 1670, and who died in 1713. He himself lived until 1743. Coming to Henrico as a minister, the association of the place with an early attempt to found a university quickened his natural interest in the cause of education. His interest was the mother of interest on the part of the clergy and of the magistrates. In 1692 he was sent by the General Assembly to England to solicit money and to secure a charter. William and Mary granted the charter, and also gave of their influence and of their revenue. The attorney-general Seymour was ordered to issue the formal documents, but Seymour demurred. The war that the country was engaged in was expensive. Blair persisted that the proposed college was to prepare men for the ministry. "Virginians have souls to be saved as well as Englishmen." "Damn their souls," said Seymour, "let them make tobacco." But the charter was issued. Blair brought back with him not only the charter, but also liberal grants of money and promises of the proceeds of taxes of far larger worth than the grants already made. The King and Queen subscribed two thousand pounds. Twenty thousand acres of land were also given. A tax of one penny on every pound of tobacco exported from Maryland and Virginia was promised. The important office of surveyor-general was put into the control of the president and faculty, and all the fees and profits arising from it were to be used toward the college endowment. This privilege was of great significance. It put the entire land system of the colony into the care of the college. Down to the year 1819, one-sixth of the fees of the public surveyors was paid into the treasury of the college.

The liberality of the mother country was supplemented by the generosity of the colony. An export duty on all skins and furs was levied for the support of the college. Forty-one years after the foundation a tax was placed upon all liquors brought into the country. A part of this revenue was to be used for the purchase of books. A similar tax was put on rum in the first years of Yale College. Direct gifts were also made. In 1718 the House of Burgesses gave one thousand pounds. Scholarships

were established, some by the Commonwealth, others, and more, by citizens.

The education of the Indian as well as of the white settlers was a purpose constantly sought. There died in England, in 1691, Robert Boyle, who in his will directed his executors to apply his personal estate to such charitable and pious uses as they saw fit. Six years after it was decided to pay over the revenue to the College of William and Mary. This revenue, however, was to be made subject to an annual draft payable by the College in Virginia to the College in Massachusetts. The records of Harvard College show that for several years the sum of ninety pounds was annually received. In the interest from endowments and in the revenue derived from taxation William and Mary enjoyed, in the middle of the eighteenth century, an annual income of about twenty-three hundred pounds. This sum was larger than the revenue of any other of the nine colleges founded before the Revolutionary War. In the year 1780,. President Stiles, of Yale, wrote to President Madison, of William and Mary, saying that "the opulence of your college will enable you immediately to equal the European universities; . . . you collect men greatly learned in every profession, together with a voluminous library and a complete philosophical apparatus."[1]

The man to whom Virginia and America was indebted for the foundation of William and Mary College represents the worthiest type of the educational and ecclesiastical pioneer. The character of James Blair was forceful and simple. He combined positiveness and patience. He had the characteristic wit of his race. His purposes were of the highest. His appreciation of educational and other human values was sound. His administration of the College was not only the first and the longest in its history, but was the greatest. With only two or three exceptions it is the longest found in the history of American colleges. Throughout this period of service he was vigorous, eager, hopeful, enthusiastic. The indifference of the people could not quench his enthusiasm. The difficulty of obtaining subscriptions, and the greater difficulty of collecting subscriptions for the College

[1] "The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles," vol. ii, p. 445.

did not stop, although it might retard, his efforts. His mind was catholic and judicial. Without the extreme metaphysical tendencies of his race, he yet possessed its characteristic piety. A Scotchman and Episcopalian, he seems to have had the best qualities of both the race and the church. He constantly adjusted means to ends. A leader of church and education, yet he was not so far in advance of those whom he led as to be lost to them, neither was he so near to the hosts as to be regarded as simply an equal. The slight association of John Harvard with the college at Cambridge gave to him noblest memorial. The association of James Blair with the Virginia college for half a century, in labors abundant and diverse, still awaits a proper commemoration.

As Harvard College represented the English traditions, William and Mary represented the Scotch. The first president, James Blair, was deeply influenced in the making of the course of study by the University of Edinburgh. The seventeenth century was a dark period for literature and science in Scotland. But toward the close of this century the first gleams of a new day appear. In this dawn for the University, for the city of Edinburgh, as well as for Scotland itself, James Blair was educated. The University of his time enrolled professors of divinity, mathematics, Latin, and Greek. The principal classical authors were read, and no small share of their texts committed to memory. As in the Massachusetts college, the Hebrew Grammar was studied. Both Aristotle and Ramus were read. Mathematics had a small place near the close of the second year, being represented by arithmetic. Geography and anatomy were also included.

The curriculum of the University in Scotland was, for the seventeenth century, broad, definite, vital. The students were alert. Athletic sports consumed neither strength nor time. The supervision given by the officers was constant and minute. Examinations were frequent. Earnest endeavor was made that each student should assimilate every text-book and lecture, and gain command of himself in thought and speech.

The purpose of Dr. Blair was to found a college of three grades or orders. The first grade embodied a grammar school

such as the English public school, which was to instruct in Latin and Greek. The second grade was to consist of two schools, one devoted to moral philosophy and one to natural. In natural philosophy was included mathematics. The third grade, also, was to consist of two schools, one of divinity, to give professional training to clergymen, and the other of Oriental languages. But so elaborate and definite a plan could not, under the conditions, be fully carried out. Yet the proposition submitted by the President is significant of the greatness of his conception regarding education. Its Faculty consisted of seven persons, including the president. The president was regarded rather as an executive than as a teaching member of the Faculty. One who should serve as chaplain and catechist taught divinity; one mathematics, philosophy, languages, and history, each, and one humanity as embodied in Latin. Such was the elaborate course provided by the first president and by his associates of the early decades. It represented a high scholastic ideal. In particular the emphasis placed upon history is significant.

In association with the Faculty was a Board of eighteen trustees. This Board was self-perpetuating. By this Board was chosen each year a Director, and also in every period of seven years a Chancellor. The first Chancellor was the Bishop of London. The deputy of the Bishop in Virginia was Dr. Blair; and down to the time of the Revolution the office of Episcopal-Deputy and of the presidency of the College were united. The head of the church in Virginia was also the head of the College.

Fire seems to be a special foe of colleges. No college has suffered more severly from this enemy than William and Mary. In 1705 the first college building was burned, and in following years buildings and records have thus been lost. But the building which arose from the ashes in 1705 was like the one burned. The architect of the first was Sir Christopher Wren. It was a lofty pile of brick, no less than one hundred and thirty-six feet in length. It seems to have had an impressiveness which did not belong to the first wooden structures of the Massachusetts institution, or to the similar building soon to be erected at New Haven.

The life of the community of Williamsburg in its first seven

decades was dignified, interesting, impressive. The colonial capital brought to itself the best which the colony possessed. One writer says that the buildings are justly reputed the best in all English America, and are exceeded by few of their kind in England.[1]

The first Commencement was held in the year 1700. The occasion was full of meaning. The gathering of the people was large and impressive. Visitors came from New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. As in the first Commencement, of 1642, of Harvard, the whole Colony was deeply interested. The graduates in the southern, as in the northern college, showed the results of their training by their orations. Indians were also interested spectators and auditors.

For fourscore years the Virginia College was the most civilizing force in Virginia society. It embodied the best which the community had attained or hoped for. The political and educational forces acted and reacted upon each other, each enriching the other. Whatever, too, was noblest in the church, became yet nobler through the fructifying power of the College. Religion, government, and education have seldom found themselves in relations more intimate or more helpful than prevailed in the first three-quarters of the century in Williamsburg. Williamsburg was a microcosm of the noblest interests of civilization of the time.

The number of students—some sixty usually found enrolled at the College, a number somewhat in excess of that belonging to Harvard in its first seventy-five years—contained great names. Previous to the Revolution there are found Nelson, Braxton, Harrison, Wythe, signers of the Declaration of Independence; Peyton Randolph, first president of the Continental Congress; John Tyler, first governor of Virginia; Edmund Randolph, Attorney-general and Secretary of State; Marshall, the Chief-Justice, and, above all others, Thomas Jefferson. The great place which Virginia had in the councils of the nation, down to the time of the founding of the University of Virginia, was made by the men who were her graduates and sons. The College

[1] H. B. Adams's "College of William and Mary," p. 25

was a school for statesmen. The chief interests of the people were politics and religion. It trained men for service in the church. The best ministers were found among its graduates. The foreign clergymen were a scandal to the community. It also, and more, trained men for service in the Commonwealth. It was also a school of gentlemen. Through its environment and associations it represented the graces and refinements of life.

The charter and method of government of William and Mary were unique. It embodied the English tradition more fully and definitely than any other college. It represented government by the president and faculty; the president and faculty were constituted the Corporation. The trustees did not transfer their power to the president and the professors until the year 1729, so slowly proceeded the legal processes. The second board of government, however, was maintained. This Board was essentially a Board of Visitation. The relative powers of these two Boards represented the occasion of debate, more or less virulent, for three-quarters of a century after the foundation was made. The essential question under discussion was whether the authority of the Visitors was an authority constantly superior to the rights of the president and the professors. It was acknowledged by the president and the professors that they derived whatever power they did possess from the Visitors, but they also contended that, having received that power, they could exercise it apart from the authority of the Visitors. The discussion was of the sort which occurs in academic institutions, in which the government is vested in two bodies. The history of civil governments, too, of a similar duplex organization, has been largely composed of similar debates. But so far as the records of the Faculty [1] allow an inference, it is clear that the president and his associates had the better of the argument. It is certainly evident that the legal as well as the academic control of the College was, as a matter of fact, vested in the Corporation of the president and his immediate associates.

The direct transplanting of the English academic method has not found favor in America. The attempt made at Harvard,

[1] *William and Mary College Quarterly*, vol. v. p. 183 *et seq.*, 224 *et seq.*

in 1721, by two tutors to constitute themselves fellows of the Corporation, was proved to be a violation of the Charter, as it was unwise in respect to academic policy. It has usually seemed wise to separate the government of the college touching instruction and the immediate relations of the students from the financial administration. A Corporation composed of college teachers is not the body best qualified to secure and to invest funds; a Corporation composed of professional gentlemen and of merchants and manufacturers is not, of course, qualified to care for the supervision and instruction and the government of students. The weakness of the usual body of trustees lies in its failure to appreciate scholarly relationships. The weakness of the faculty as a governing body lies in its failure to appreciate pecuniary rights and duties. The model method, of course, is a body of trustees which, able to supervise pecuniary concerns, is also thoroughly sympathetic, without meddlesomeness, with scholastic concerns. On the side of instruction the ideal plan embodies a Corporation which, being in touch with the life of students, is appreciative of the legal and pecuniary relations of a Corporation established for scholastic purposes. The general history of the Corporations of the individual colleges, which constitute Oxford University and Cambridge, for the last five hundred years does not give ground for the general introduction into American institutions of the same method. The two methods of government obtaining at Harvard and at Yale have proved to be more popular than that which was framed at William and Mary.

The president and professors of the Virginia college were, at least down to the time of the outbreak of the Revolution, obliged to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England. This subscription was made contemporaneously with the subscription required of the president and tutors of Yale College to the Saybrook Platform. If in the case of the Connecticut College the purpose of the subscription was to promote orthodoxy, the purpose in William and Mary was rather to promote loyalty to the home government.

The life of the students and professors in the college town, which was also the capital of the Colony, was not wholly an

academic one. Apparently the professors desired to make the life more academic for the boys than the boys themselves wished. Among the rules of the College of the middle of the eighteenth century are found prohibitions against keeping race horses and against backing horses in races. The keeping, also, of fighting cocks represents a diversion against which special penalties are laid. The playing of billiards, too, is forbidden. Even the going out of the bounds of the College, especially toward "the mill pond," without express leave, represents a severe offense. The playing of cards or dice is expressly censured. One Mr. Kemp is, in the year 1754, warned that the president and masters are very uneasy at his encouraging the boys to engage in racing and in other diversions contrary to the rules of the College, and they threaten that if he do not desist for the future, they determine to make a proper representation thereof to the Court. Sauntering away time upon the College steps, in the year 1754, represented an early beginning of a happy and unhappy academic custom. The presumption, too, of students going into the College kitchen and causing disturbance is rebuked. Tardiness at meals, and irregularity in taking food to rooms, receives censure. Only sick-tea and wine-whey can be taken to the rooms.

That offenses were not confined to the students the records of the faculty also prove. A certain usher is declared to behave to the president and masters in a most scandalous, impudent, and unheard-of manner, by breaking into a room where the president and masters are consulting. One usher is also accused of having treated a sub-usher too severely.[1] The professor of Moral Philosophy, too, headed the collegians in a fray with the young men of Williamsburg, and for this and for other improprieties was obliged by the Visitors to resign.[2] College life in the Virginia capital, in the middle of the eighteenth century, must indeed have been full of fun and frolic.

But in the Virginia College, as in all others, the Commons represented a troublesome element. In the year 1763 the woman who had charge of the boarding hall received directions that there is always to be a plenty of victuals, that at dinner both

[1] *William and Mary College Quarterly*, vol. ii, p. 257.

[2] Ibid., p. 258.

fresh and salt meat are to be served, that twice in the week, as well as on Sunday in particular, there are to be either puddings or pies in addition. It is also charged upon her to serve breakfast, dinner, and supper in the cleanest and neatest manner possible. She is prohibited from serving up "different scraps" at different tables. The demand is made for fresh butter, and the boys are not to be forced to eat salt butter in summer. It is further desired that a proper stocking-mender be procured, to live in or near the College, whose duties in looking after the linen of the students are to be carefully done.

While the professors were obliged to consider minute details of college administration, as they are still obliged to do in the colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, they were not freed from weightier matters. The income of the College was at times insufficient to meet expenses. The revenue derived from the State was not always paid with promptness. The professors sometimes received their salaries in the form of hogsheads of tobacco. Suits were brought against John Blair, Jr., and others because of failure to pay board or to settle their debts. The president and professors were a Corporation, financial as well as scholastic.

The College of William and Mary is also preëminent by reason of being the mother of great movements. The elective system received distinct recognition in the period of the Revolutionary War. Years before the opening of the University of Virginia, its founder wrote that at William and Mary College students are allowed to attend schools of their choice, and to pursue those branches which they think will be useful in their following life. The honor system, too, in examinations first comes into notice at the Revolutionary period. This honor system was undoubtedly an outgrowth of that spirit of independence which had its origin in the rural and separated lives of the people. The first chair of Law was founded at William and Mary toward the close of the eighteenth century. In the year 1814 George Ticknor could not find a good teacher of German in Boston, nor a German dictionary in the book shops, or at Harvard College. As early as 1779 William and Mary had a teacher in Bellini. It may be also added that Williams-

burg established a theater in 1716, and an asylum for the insane in 1769.

Notwithstanding the high place which the college filled in the society of Virginia in the eighteenth century, yet not a few sons of Virginia families were educated abroad. England was still called "home." The relations between England and Virginia were more close than those between New England and the old. The custom of sending sons to England began soon after the Colony began, and continued until the War of Independence. Between the first year of the eighteenth century and 1775, no less than twenty native-born Virginians matriculated at either Oxford or Cambridge. At each of the principal colleges are found their names; Oriel College, however, seems to have been the most popular. Among the names of such matriculants are found Fitz Hugh, Burwell, and Yates.[1] While Oxford and Cambridge were influencing society in Virginia through their graduates, other colleges of the South were, in the last generation of the period, not without following. What is now known as Washington and Lee University had its origin in a school founded in 1749. For a generation this school was taught by Princeton graduates. Among the Scotch and the Scotch-Irish of Virginia the Presbyterian Church was the most formative factor, and wherever was found a Presbyterian there, as both cause and result, was found the influence of the college at Princeton. The schools of Pennsylvania too, although less strong than the college at Princeton, were not without influence.

The general society of Virginia, enriched by foreign and by native influences, was undoubtedly quite as bookish and literary as that of the northern colonies. The libraries of Virginia were as numerous and as large as those of Connecticut and of Massachusetts in the eighteenth century. John Winthrop, who died in 1678, had a library of two hundred and sixty-nine books; and John Eliot, who is said to have had the largest library in New England between 1713 and 1745, had only two hundred and forty-three; Dr. Charles Brown, of Vir-

[1] *William and Mary College Quarterly*, vol. vi, p. 173 *et seq.*

ginia, who died in 1738, had six hundred and seventeen volumes; William Byrd, who died six years after, had nearly four thousand; and William Dunlop, who was living in 1765, had also several thousand.[1] In its isolation and separation of home from home, Virginia society was yet a society; if it was less ecclesiastical and less formally religious than the society of New England, it was yet quite as literary.

In the influences which helped to make Virginia a great State, the College of William and Mary, from its foundation in 1693 to the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, filled a noble place. The personalities which prepared for that war, which carried it on, and which after the war helped to constitute a great commonwealth, were largely the graduates of William and Mary. Among the eleven members of the Committee of Correspondence appointed in 1773, no less than seven had been among her students; among other names were those of Peyton Randolph and Thomas Jefferson. Of the eleven members of the Committee of Safety appointed by the Virginia Convention of 1775, six had been enrolled. Of the thirty-one members who formed the committee which framed the Declaration of Rights of the State Constitution, eleven were her sons. Of the seven Virginia signers of the Declaration of Independence, four attended William and Mary, and the author of the Declaration was a member of its Class of 1758. Of the thirty-three members of the Continental Congress of Virginia, fifteen received their education at her college. Down to the Revolutionary War the Virginia college was richer than any one of the other eight colleges. That she had made good use of her revenue and of her opportunities is proved by the work of her graduates between 1770 and 1783.

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[1] *William and Mary College Quarterly*, vol. vi, p. 66.

CHAPTER III

THE THIRD COLLEGE: YALE

In the founding of Harvard College English influences, which had become naturalized, were dominant; in the founding of William and Mary College Scotch and English influences were dominant; in the founding of Yale College American influences were dominant. Each of the men, with one exception, who was influential in the planting of Yale was a graduate of Harvard. In the course of two generations the New World had fitted itself to train its own leaders and educators.

At the opening of the eighteenth century what is now known as Connecticut had a population of about fifteen thousand. The number of townships was thirty-four; the taxable property was a little over two hundred thousand pounds. In each of the towns was a Congregational clergyman, who with other graduates made up about fifty college men. High schools were established in each of the four county seats: Hartford, New Haven, New London, and Fairfield. A public school was also set up in towns in which at least seventy families were dwelling, and for the entire year. Towns of a smaller population kept the requirements of the law by a public school for a half of each year. The highest salary paid to any clergyman in the colony was a hundred pounds.

At this time the population of Massachusetts was four times as large as that of Connecticut, and its wealth was also four times as great.

The generation which lived in the New England colonies between the restoration of Charles II. and the accession of William and Mary experienced manifold anxieties and sufferings. King Philip's War had devastated their farms and their homes, killing every eleventh man in the militia and burning down the homes in the same proportion. High taxes had piled

up debts, and debts had created high interest charges for colony, town, individual. The usurpation of Andros had threatened to rob the settlers of all personal property as well as of civil rights. Religious declension had followed in the wake of material poverty and governmental limitation. When the hearts of men were failing them, the news came that William and Mary had been declared sovereigns. The change in the thoughts and outlook of men was a revolution. Confidence created prosperity, and prosperity confirmed and strengthened confidence.

In the meagerness of its population and revenue, and in the revival of public confidence, Connecticut was preparing to found a college. The time was the close of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth. The endeavor was not new. It was the consummation of the thought of John Davenport, pastor of the New Haven Church in the middle of the seventeenth century. While Davenport was staying in Boston, in the winter of 1637 and 1638, he was made a member of the committee to execute the vote of the General Court of Massachusetts regarding the placing of the college at Cambridge. Ten years after, the General Court of New Haven gave power to a committee "to consider and reserve what lot they shall see meet and most commodious for a college, which they desire may be set up so soon as their ability will reach thereunto." For the next ten years the project of founding a college was discussed at intervals. More than six hundred pounds was promised—one-half of which had its origin in New Haven—toward the foundation. The legacy of Edward Hopkins was made over by Mr. Davenport, a trustee under his will, for the proposed college. Litigation regarding the legacy followed. In 1664 the proceeds of the bequest were used in the foundation of the Hopkins Grammar School, which still continues its scholarly service for a scholarly community. Presently Mr. Davenport resigned his pastorate to accept another in Boston. For a generation, therefore, the desire for the establishment of a college was quiescent.

The last two decades of the seventeenth century in the history of the province of Massachusetts were tumultuous. The tumult centered more or less about Harvard College. In these

years no less than five charters were given to the College. Revocation or discussion regarding the worth of each followed. The date of the granting of the charter of 1692 was also the year of the granting of the charter to Massachusetts. This charter was revolutionary. It altered the principles and purpose of the government. It took away church membership as the basis of voting, and put in its place freehold and property. Religion ceased to be the chief end of the State. It was a step in that great process of modern times in the transfer of power from religion to politics. It deprived the clergy of the civil power which they had exercised from the beginning. To this controversy was added, in the same time, the heat and rancor of the witchcraft trials and convictions. Both the hearts and minds of thoughtful men were deeply stirred. The times were remote from academic quietness and decorum.

In these two decades, and in those preceding, about one-eighth of the graduates of Harvard College had come from the southern colonies of New Haven and Connecticut. One-third of this number, or about one-twentieth of all, were residents of New Haven. For not a few years, too, the southern colonies had made annual contributions for the support of needy students in Harvard. During a score of years collectors of college corn were among the town officers regularly elected in New Haven.

At the beginning, therefore, of the eighteenth century the time was ripe for the establishment of a second college in New England. The specific purpose of the foundation, as indicated in the first charter, is to establish a school " wherein youth may be instructed in the arts and sciences, who through the blessing of Almighty God may be fitted for public employment, both in church and civil state." Broad and democratic was the purpose thus indicated. The arts and sciences, and not theology only, were to be employed as instruments of instruction. Service in the State, as well as service in the church, was to be interpreted as a primary purpose. Although fifty years after the legislature declared that " one principal end proposed in erecting the college was to supply the churches in this colony with a learned, pious, and orthodox ministry," yet the first charter indicated that another end proposed in erecting the college was

just as principal—the supplying of the colony with citizens learned and efficient.

The charter of 1701 was, in 1745, supplemented by another, giving a more exact statement of powers and privileges. But the general intent of the foundation suffered no change.

The first charter states that those who desired to make the foundation were "well disposed and public spirited," and that out "of their sincere regard to and zeal for upholding and propagating of the Christian Protestant religion, by a succession of learned and orthodox men," have expressed a desire to found a "collegiate school." These founders were among the ablest men of the commonwealth. They represented the noblest elements in personal character and the best forces of service in the State. Among them was James Noyes, pastor at Stonington for more than fifty years. Noyes was, with his brother, a graduate of Harvard College of the Class of 1659. He seems, at least in part, to have worked his way through college. Among his credits on the Harvard College budgets are two pounds ten shillings for waiting in the Hall a whole year; he served as monitor, and also in the buttery. His subsequent career found a prophecy in the multiplicity of his college duties. He was a physician as well as a clergyman, and it is said that in certain years he gave away in medicine more than the value of his salary. He was a peacemaker among the churches, but he also had the spirit of a warrior. In 1676, under his advice, Manutteno, the chief sachem of the Narragansetts, was put to death.

Israel Chauncy also represents the Harvard tradition. He graduated two years after Noyes. He was the youngest of President Chauncy's six sons. Coming to Connecticut as a teacher, he presently entered upon the pastorate. His ordination, in 1666, became conspicuous in ecclesiastical annals by reason of a singular lapse. On this occasion one of the brethren, while assisting in the laying on of hands, neglected to take off his mitten. The ordination therefore came to be known as the "leather-mitten" ordination. The lapse occasioned much ridicule among the Episcopalians. As long as fifty-six years after it was referred to in a letter written by Joseph Webb to

Cotton Mather. Chauncy was the first president of Yale College chosen, but he declined the office.

Another of the founders bears the distinguished and honorable name of Samuel Mather. He was a graduate of Harvard in 1671. Although a nephew of Increase, and the cousin of Cotton, and although not approaching either the father or the son in distinction, he seems to have possessed patience, sound judgment, and great tact. His work in laying the foundation was apparently slight. He speaks of himself as "little and feeble." His health became early broken, and for many years before he died he was bedridden.

A more conspicuous member of the Board was Samuel Andrew. Samuel Andrew was a Cambridge man both by birth and graduation. He graduated in 1675, and four years after, chosen tutor, he continued as a college officer for five years. He was ordained as pastor in Milford in 1685. His connection with the college covered three decades. He was the last survivor of the first board. After the death of the first rector he was chosen rector *pro tempore*, and the Senior class was for a time under his instruction. He seems to have been among the best scholars of his time, and to have possessed the qualities of graciousness, of tact, as well as of laboriousness and beneficence. Through the marriage of his daughter to President Cutler, it may be said that his influence in the affairs of Yale College did not cease until the beginning of the last third of the eighteenth century.

Timothy Woodbridge was a classmate of Samuel Andrew at Harvard. He was born in England; and became pastor in Hartford in 1683. Important commissions were intrusted to him concerning the adjustment of colonial affairs with the home government. For a time also he served as the temporary chief executive of the College. In the rhetoric of the first decades of the eighteenth century, it is said of him that "in reproving of sin he was a Boanerges, and in dealing with troubled conscience a Barnabas." Although his publications number only four, three sermons and a letter to Cotton Mather, yet he is the most voluminous writer of all the trustees. It must be remembered, however, that the first printing press was set up in Connecticut in 1709.

Noadiah Russel was born in New Haven in 1659. He entered Harvard College in 1677, and graduated four years after. His father died when he was a year old. Soon after he entered college the General Court of Connecticut took significant action regarding his education "upon the motion of those be-trusted in the management of the estate of Noadiah Russel, that was left him by his grandfather and father, they having expended considerable of his estate in bringing of him up in learning, and he being now at the College and not in a capacity to proceed in learning without his houseing and land in New Haven be sold for his maintenance, . . . do judge that it will be more advantageous for the said Noadiah that his house and land be sold, and the pay received be improved for the bringing of him up in College learning, than to leave his learning and enjoy his house and land, he be likely to prove a useful instrument in the work of God; and therefore do . . . give the executors . . . full power to make sale of his house and lands for the ends aforesaid."[1] Almost a year later the Court granted widow Osborn liberty to transport to Boston thirty-two hides annually for three years following, provided that the proceeds of the sale of the hides may be used to pay for the house and land which had belonged to Russel, the money being used to support him at College. While in College he received a grant from the Pennoyer fund, and also was made a scholar of the house, a term frequently used in the history of Yale College, to stand for a guardian of the College property. Russel served as teacher of the Grammar School of Ipswich for several years following his graduation. He was ordained at Middletown in 1688.

Another founder was Joseph Webb. His preparation for this service seems to have been somewhat unique. While a Harvard Sophomore he was expelled from the College. The charges made against him were manifold. His "carriages were abusive." He did not use Freshmen well. His negligence of duties which by the laws of the College he was bound to do was scandalous, and in these faults he persisted. He also failed to

[1] Sibley's "Harvard Graduates," vol. iii, pp. 216, 217.

recognize a special summons of the Corporation. He was therefore expelled. In connection with this punishment, it is declared that if he dares to appear within the college walls within twenty-four hours, he shall be taken before the civil officers. President Mather, in the presence of the assemblage, also tore his name from a Bible in which it was written. Following these proceedings Webb presented a petition which may be regarded as significant of the method of approach of a student to academic authorities in the last years of the seventeenth century. It reads as follows:

"To the Most Honoured Corporation:

"Whereas, I, Joseph Webb, late Student of Harvard College, by my culpable negligence of College duties, and other misdemeanours in abusing and striking some freshmen, have incurred the penalty of expulsion justly imposed upon me by the Honoured Corporation according to the Laws of the College, therefore Honoured and Reverend, being now made sensible, I do, with grief and sorrow, humbly acknowledge those my great offenses, and the Justice of your proceedings against me for them, crave your pardon, and pray that I may be restored unto my former standing in the College, promising utmost labour and diligence in my study, and most dutiful observance of all the College laws and orders for the time to come.

"Your most humble suppliant,

JOSEPH WEBB."[1]

Webb's confession and petition were considered, and, be it said, he was readmitted to the College. After graduation Webb studied for the ministry; he was ordained at Fairfield in 1694. It may be worthy of remark that he baptized no less than fourteen hundred and ninety-two persons in the course of his long pastorate. To such greatness of religious service do the college scapegoats finally attain!

The only founder who was not a graduate of Harvard College was Thomas Buckingham. For forty years he was minister

[1] Sibley's "Harvard Graduates," vol. iii, p. 303.

at Saybrook, where he died in 1709. He shared with James Noyes the moderatorship of the synod—which met the year before his death—that framed the Saybrook platform.

The two most useful members of the first Board were without doubt James Pierpont and Abraham Pierson. Of the two, Pierpont was probably of the greater worth to the College. Pierpont's wisdom, prudence, activity, were preëminent. Although he died in 1714, at the age of fifty-four, without seeing the results of his labor, yet he has lived in the history of Yale College in a special and peculiar way. His daughter Sarah, by his third marriage, who was a granddaughter of Thomas Hooker, became the wife of Jonathan Edwards; his grandson, Timothy Dwight, became president of the College near the close of the century. Another Timothy Dwight, also near the close of the last century, became president, and between these two terms falls the illustrious presidency of Theodore Dwight Woolsey, who was a great-great-grandson.

The academic, personal, and family relations between the men who founded Yale College were many and close. Mather and Andrew married sisters; Webb and Chauncy also married sisters; Pierpont was the nephew of Pierson by one marriage, and the stepson by another; Noyes and Woodbridge were cousins; Pierpont and Russel were classmates at Harvard; others, if not classmates, were in college at the same time. Their ecclesiastical and professional relationships were also intimate.

The men, therefore, who founded Yale College represent the highest results in character and service which the New World had been able to effect. They were, apparently, not men of the large type which John Cotton, Samuel Shepard, and John Davenport embodied. Amiability is a common word used by their contemporaries respecting them. They were faithful, pious, laborious country ministers. Their ideals were the highest. Their methods for achieving these ideals were on the whole wise, and under the limitations of narrow conditions they laid a great and lasting foundation.

The powers intrusted by the General Court for the foundation and management of the College were vested in a single Board. The method of control was more simple than the double

Board of Fellows and Overseers which obtained at Harvard. The two methods thus established, in the very beginning of these colleges, have been retained throughout their history. The advantage of a single Board lies in the ease of effecting changes. This advantage becomes a disadvantage in case the changes proposed are not wise. The advantage of a double Board consists in the greater assurance that the changes proposed are wise. The disadvantage in turn consists in the greater difficulty in making worthy improvements. In the history of American colleges these two systems have obtained. The Yale method has proved, on the whole, to be more popular. The advantage of investing authority and responsibility in a single body has become more evident. In most colleges founded in the last half century the Yale method has been adopted.

"The existence of a board with no power to originate, but with the right to negative the measures of a smaller body, renders the government," says the first President Dwight, of Yale, "uncertain, prolix, and indecisive, furnishes room for the operation of multiplied personal interests, prejudices, intrigues, and unfortunate compromises; and generally prevents the order, energy, and decision attendant upon a single board. A body of Overseers, occasionally called together to meddle with the affairs of a college, will usually feel so little interest in them, except at the moment, as never to be in possession of the system intended to be pursued; the wisdom, and expediency, of one part of which will often depend more on its relation to the other parts, than on its own nature. Often they will not come together, at all, in such numbers as to form a quorum; and will thus prevent the accomplishment of the business, for which they were summoned. The very numbers of which they consist, will of course include many, who are incompetent judges of academical concerns; and many more, who will never take pains to inquire into their nature, or to possess themselves of that judgment which their capacity would in better circumstances enable them to form. Their decisions, therefore, will often be sudden; often crude; and not unfrequently hostile to the very interests, which they would wish to promote. To secure the prosperity of such an institution, it is indispensably necessary, that a system, embracing all its interests for a considerable period at least, should be carefully formed, and closely pursued. All, who are to vote, should distinctly understand this system; and, whenever they come to act, should have it fully in their minds; so as to comprehend readily the

relation, which every new measure has to the general scheme, and its proper influence on measures already adopted. This can be done, only by a long-continued, and minute acquaintance with the affairs of the institution; and can never be done by men, who, occupied busily in totally different concerns, come rarely and casually, to the consideration of these. The votes of such men will be governed by the impulse of the moment; by whim; by prejudice; by attachment to a friend, or a party; and sometimes, not improbably, by the mere fact, that their duty requires them to vote: when, perhaps, they are wholly at a loss whether the vote, actually given, will be useful, or mischievous. If such a system be not so pursued; the interests of a public seminary can never become prosperous, unless by accident, or by the peculiarly meritorious labors of a wise and vigorous Faculty; overcoming many disadvantages, and preventing with uncommon prudence, and felicity, the mischievous effects of indigested, desultory regulations." [1]

The rights of the Corporation of Yale, as given by the first charter and that of 1745, suffered, at various times in the first century of the college, serious attack. The essential question at issue was whether the State, which had founded the College, had the right of visitation. The same question has occurred in the history of many institutions. It was the question which emerged in the Oxford and Cambridge University Commission of the sixth decade of the last century. But in the teeth of the great attack made in the year 1763, it seems to have been proved to the satisfaction of the General Court that the Corporation was independent. The constitution and the management of the College, it was made plain, are free from the varying will of a public assembly.

For almost a score of years the Collegiate School, as the institution was known till the granting of the second charter, was, as is said in one of the early papers, "ambulatory, like the tabernacle in the wilderness." In no less than six places instruction was given: Saybrook, Killingsworth, Milford, East Guilford, and Wethersfield, as well as New Haven. The rivalry of the towns for a permanent location, the difficulty of securing proper instruction, the willingness and comparative ability of members of the Corporation to serve as instructors in

[1] "Dwight's Travels in New England and New York." ii, pp. 212, 213.

certain subjects, represent the causes of these geographical changes. But among the first towns which indicated a desire for the College was New Haven, and after almost a score of years of debate the College was finally located in the city of Davenport, where it belonged by historic and ecclesiastical lineage.

Among the reasons for the selection of New Haven were, as was said by President Clap,[1] that it was looked upon as the most convenient place on account of the commodiousness of its situation, the agreeableness of the air and soil, and the cheapness of the commodities; and that very large donations had been made toward the building in case New Haven were selected. The same reasons influenced the founders of Yale College that influenced the Popes throughout the Middle Ages in granting their bulls for the foundation of universities. In the preambles it is usually said that the place in question is adapted for the use of students "by reason of the amenity and salubrity of the air, and the cheapness and abundance of victuals."[2]

Personality and instruction represent the chief values in college administration. The course of studies which the founders of Yale College established was, like themselves and their times, plain, simple, limited, but fundamental. It was essentially the carrying out of the course which they themselves had followed in Harvard College. Latin, by a rule of the College, was the language to be employed in ordinary conversation. Greek and Hebrew represented the chief studies of the Freshman year. Logic was begun toward the end of that year. The same studies were continued throughout the Sophomore year, with apparently less emphasis on "the tongues" and more on logic. Physics emerged in the third year, and in the fourth year metaphysics and mathematics. The linguistic studies were also carried on to a certain extent. Throughout the four years, during the last two days of the week, rhetoric, ethics, and theology occupied the larger share of the time. Declamations in either Latin, Greek, or Hebrew were also set for Friday.

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[1] "Annals of Yale College," p. 22.

[2] Rashdall's "Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages," vol. ii, p. 325.

Such are the essential elements of the course of study for at least three-quarters of the eighteenth century. A member of the Class of 1714, Benjamin Lord, writing to President Stiles sixty-five years after his graduation, says: "Books of the languages and sciences recited in my day were Tully and Virgil, but without any notes; Burgersdicius (an old Latin manual in logic) and Ramus's 'Logic,' also Heerebord's 'Set Logic,' . . . Pierson's manuscript of Physics. . . . We recited the Greek Testament; knew not Homer; recited the Psalms in Hebrew. . . . We recited Ames's 'Medullah' on Saturdays, also his 'Cases of Conscience' sometimes; the two upper classes used to dispute syllogistically twice or thrice a week. . . . As for the mathematics, we recited and studied but little more than the rudiments of it, some of the plainest things in it. Our advantages in that day were too low for any to rise high in any branches of literature."[1] The testimony of Benjamin Lord is made good by a classmate, Dr. Johnson, who says: "The utmost as to classical learning that was now generally aimed at, and indeed for twenty or thirty years after, was no more than to construe five or six of Tully's orations, and as many books of Virgil, poorly, and most of the Greek Testament, with some chapters of the Hebrew Psalter. . . . Common arithmetic and a little surveying were the *ne plus ultra* of mathematical requirements."[2]

The great changes in the curriculum, from the foundation to the beginning of the Revolutionary War, are found in the field of mathematics. As the decades pass, the facilities offered for mathematical study increase. In the year 1719, when Jonathan Edwards was a Junior, his tutor told him to get Alstead's "Geometry" and Gasundes's "Astronomy" for his Senior year. Physics was taught at the beginning, but taught rather as a metaphysical than a mathematical subject. The great impulse for the study of mathematics at Yale came from Sir Isaac Newton. In 1715 Jeremiah Dummer, the colony's agent in England, sent over about eight hundred volumes. They were, as tutor Johnson records, "the liberal donation of diverse, well-spirited

[1] Dexter's "Yale Biographies and Annals," vol. i, pp. 115, 116.
[2] "Life," by Chandler, p. 5.

gentlemen in Britain.''[1] Among the contributors were gentlemen as unlike as Richard Steele, Matthew Henry, Sir Francis Nicholson, the Governor of Virginia, Sir Edmund Andros, Sir Richard Blackmore, the poet laureate, and Sir Isaac Newton. Sir Isaac gave the second edition of his "Principia," a copy of his book on "Optics," besides certain Greek books. The gift of Newton fell into good hands. Among the tutors was Samuel Johnson, who, thirty years after, became the president of Kings, or Columbia, College. He seemed, as he himself says of himself, "like a person suddenly emerging out of a glimmer of twilight into the full sunshine of open day," so great was the revelation which the books on mathematics and other volumes made to him. In the four years in which he served as tutor he introduced the principles of Newton's mathematics into the College, so far as the students were able to receive them. In 1733 Euclid became the text-book in geometry. In 1742 elementary mathematics was removed from its place as a Senior study, and was put into the beginning of the course. In 1763 Algebra was first introduced.[2] In the year 1777 the Freshman class studied Arithmetic, the Sophomore, Algebra and Geometry, and the Junior, Trigonometry. At a little earlier period it is also apparent that conic sections and fluxions were for a time included. Throughout the century Physics was ceasing to be taught as a metaphysical, and was coming to be taught as a mathematical, subject. In 1734 an attempt was made to provide the College with a certain amount of physical apparatus. Through the subscriptions, amounting to thirty-seven pounds, made by trustees and others, a reflecting telescope, a microscope, a barometer, and other instruments were purchased. About the same time a set of surveying instruments was given by Joseph Thompson, of London, and a number of globes was also presented by the Rev. Dr. Isaac Watts.

In 1737 Dr. John Hubbard, who had in 1730 received the unique honor of an honorary degree of Master of Arts, published a poem on the Benefactors of Yale College. That mathematics

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[1] Dexter, "Yale Biographies and Annals," vol. i, p. 141.

[2] Ibid., vol. iii, p. 2.

had come to occupy a significant place in the curriculum is evidenced by his lines:

> "The mathematicks too our tho'ts employ,
> Which nobly elevate the Students' joy:
> The little Euclids round the tables set
> And at their rigid demonstrations sweat." [1]

These studies were taught to a body of students of from a hundred to a hundred and fifty. The chief teacher was the president; to him usually belonged the duty of instructing the Senior class. Commonly, although not invariably, the instruction of a single class in all branches fell to a single individual. The president, however, gave lectures upon a variety of subjects to all members. The tutors continued for a very brief time. In the first sixty-two years no less than fifty-seven were employed. The more common custom is seen in the life and career of Samuel Johnson, who, after a service of four years, retired and entered the ministry. It is apparent that the personal qualities of the tutors, rather than their advanced intellectual attainments, represented their claims to the opportunity of service. The methods and conditions were more akin to those which have for centuries obtained in Oxford and Cambridge than to those which prevail elsewhere, although the number in a single class at Yale was far larger than is generally accepted by an Oxford tutor.

The intellectual results of such a course of training represent steadiness and thoroughness of discipline. Training rather than scholarship, or training through scholarship, was the supreme end. The subjects were few and the interpretation made of them was narrow. Religious zeal not infrequently supported and in some cases may have atoned for the lack of intellectual methods and attainments. The training made men rather than gentlemen or scholars. It embodied both traditions and reason. It stood rather for personality than for the learning of books.

The conditions of instruction and of the life of the College were embodied in the annual budgets. These budgets for many

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[1] Dexter, "Yale Biographies and Annals," vol. i, p. 473.

years exhibit the same items of income and of expense, and the same somewhat alarming deficit. The budgets increase on both sides in the succeeding years of the century. In the years of 1726 and 1727 the exhibit shows that there is received from the General Assembly the usual annual grant of a hundred pounds, and from the rent of rooms and tuition a hundred and sixty-three pounds. The total of two hundred and sixty-three pounds is appropriated: to the salary of the rector, one hundred and forty pounds; to the tutors' salary, sixty-five pounds; for carpenter work, thirty-four pounds, and a small sum to the monitor and the scholar of the house. (The scholar of the house is an office held by a Senior, whose duty it is to take note of all harm done to windows, doors, tables, locks, in college buildings.) The treasurer receives eight pounds, and for incidentals are appropriated sixty-three pounds; the total of three hundred and fifteen pounds represents a deficit of somewhat over fifty pounds. It must be remembered, however, that at this time, and in other years, the actual value of the currency was only about one-half of its nominal value. Three years after, the salary paid to the rector is increased to three hundred pounds. In 1734 the expenditures have increased to four hundred and eighty-four pounds, and the income amounts to only three hundred and seventy-three pounds. But in this year the colony made an extra grant of a hundred pounds. Three years later the budget shows a still further increase, the expense side amounting to about seven hundred pounds. The increase has largely risen from the salary paid the president, and for the services of the tutors, the treasurer, the steward, and other officers. But the income shows a yet larger increase; the difference between the two sides of income and expense being less than ten pounds. The greatest increase in the income arises from the increase in the amount of tuition fees and rent of rooms. Three years later the amount of money received from tuition fees and rent of rooms is increased to four hundred and twenty-six pounds, and besides this sum students are charged for the use of the library, a charge that brings in fifteen pounds. The rector's salary, however, has been advanced to three hundred and twenty pounds, while each of the tutors receives ninety. It

may be noted that the dinner at Commencement costs fifty pounds, and the trustees are paid, as mileage for their attendance at meetings, four pounds. But these varying amounts are to be judged somewhat in the varying value of the currency of each year.

In no one of these early budgets emerges any item representing an income from endowment. That source of supply, which for the modern college is of the largest worth, was unknown to the Connecticut institution in its first half century. Gifts were received, as I have already intimated, but these gifts were rather of apparatus and of books than of money for permanent investment. But near the close of the first half century Yale did receive what seems to be its first contribution to what would now be called an endowment fund. The giver bore the name of Philip Livingston, proprietor of the manor of Livingston, in the province of New York, and one of his Majesty's counselors in that province. In 1745 Colonel Livingston gave fifty pounds as a "small acknowledgement of the sense I have for the favor and education my sons have had there, to be put at interest with good security, and the interest arising thereby to be employed towards repairing said College, or a college that may hereafter be erected and built." Colonel Livingston graciously adds, "I wish it had been a larger sum."[1] Four sons of Colonel Livingston were among the graduates. A year later a Hartford citizen made a bequest of a hundred pounds, to be used toward maintaining a native student preparing for the ministry—the first bequest in money which the College had received for a purpose which has since become popular among testators. In 1752 a bequest of five hundred pounds was made by Mr. Gershom Clark, of the Class of 1743, toward the support of a professor of divinity. In the same decade a general subscription was made by a hundred and fifty-nine donors, of whom no less than forty-nine were clergymen, for the building of a house for the professor of divinity.

But gifts and bequests were not the only means for meeting expenses of the annual administration and constant enlargement.

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[1] Dexter, "Yale Biographies and Annals," vol. ii, p. 71.

For more than a hundred years preceding the middle of the last century, the lottery had been regarded as a worthy means for making money for worthiest purposes. Throughout this period churches had been built, as well as public works of the State constructed, and private citizens enriched. The older American colleges built not a few of their buildings and enlarged their libraries, through this appeal to the instinct for sudden enrichment. The first lottery instituted by a college was authorized by the Assembly of Connecticut in May, 1747, and the proceeds were to be used for the building of a new college building. The proceeds amounted to three thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars, and with this money in hand, although insufficient, the erection of the building was begun. In each of the older States are found college buildings erected from the proceeds of lotteries. Among the more important of those standing is Holworthy Hall, at Harvard, erected in the second decade of the last century. The most conspicuous of all lotteries was that instituted by President Nott of Union College. Yale College probably received as small an advantage from lotteries as any college that has seen fit to adopt this method of enrichment.

In the first two centuries of its history Yale College had thirteen presidents. Of this number the first was Abraham Pierson. He also was among those who are to be called its founders. Born in Lynn, about 1645, he took his first degree at Harvard College in 1668. After a pastorate in Newark, in which he succeeded his father, he became pastor in Killingsworth in 1694. He entered earnestly and early into the movement for the foundation of the college, and in its first year he was chosen rector. Until the granting of the second charter, in 1745, the term rector was used to represent the chief executive. The term Collegiate School was also used throughout this period. The purpose of both designations was designed to represent the modest condition of the new institution. Pierson's service as rector did not necessitate his retirement from his pastorate, although, apparently, each office suffered by reason of the demands made through the other. That the interest of Pierson was not wholly theological is evidenced by the fact that he wrote

a book on Physics, which continued to be for several years a text-book, being passed in manuscript from class to class. Pierson, President Clap says, was a hard student, a good scholar, a great divine, and a wise, steady, judicious gentleman in all his conduct. He instructed and governed the infant institution with general approbation. Yale College has, in the course of its history, been, on the whole, exceedingly fortunate in the personality and efficiency of its executives. But in no one of them were the qualities of scholarship and efficiency, or courtesy and laboriousness, more eminent than in its first.

Dr. Pierson was succeeded by a fellow founder, the Rev. Samuel Andrew. His service was regarded as temporary. The first formal president to follow Pierson was Timothy Cutler. Timothy Cutler was born in the city of John Harvard, Charlestown, in 1683, and he graduated at John Harvard's College in the year of the foundation of Yale. Rector Cutler may be called "the magnificent," with a fitness greater than belongs to any other of the early presidents. His person was commanding; his mien is described as "high, lofty, and despotic."[1] He apparently embodied a higher type of scholarship than was found among other presidents, excepting President Chauncy of Cambridge. His reputation for eloquence was high, and he was distinguished for his knowledge of Oriental languages. In compensation to the people of Stratford for the loss of their minister, the trustees bought his house and lot, and presented them to the parish. He was beloved as a minister, and the beginning of his administration gave abounding promise. This promise was, however, soon darkened. Suspicions began to be current that the splendor of prelacy had turned his head. These suspicions, after investigation and conference, were more than confirmed. The trustees at once voted that, in faithfulness to the trust imposed on them, they excuse Mr. Cutler from further service as rector. Mr. Cutler soon after went to England, was reordained by the Bishop of Norwich, received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from both Oxford and Cambridge, and, returning, settled in Boston as rector of Christ Church. While he was

[1] "The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles," vol. ii, p. 340.

abroad he was invited to meet a benefactor of Harvard College, Hollis, who hoped to convert him from his Episcopal way, but the conference never took place. "I am resolved," said Cutler to Hollis, "that I was never in judgment heartily with the dissenters, but bore it patiently until a favorable opportunity offered. This has happened at Boston, and I now declare publicly what I before believed privately." The settlement of Cutler in Boston, which took place in 1724, came to have relation to Harvard College, for Cutler claimed to have a right to a seat on the Board of Overseers, on the ground of being a teaching elder. For six years the agitation continued. The result upon all sides was a negative to his petitions.

The unfortunate and brief administration of Cutler was followed, after four years in which no permanent rector was chosen, by the service of Elisha Williams. Without possessing the greatness of character which belonged to Pierson, he yet had those commanding qualities which characterized his successor, Clap. Williams seemed to have been endowed with unusual qualities as an administrator. To great personal magnetism, he united the best elements of a teacher. A graduate, like his predecessors, of Harvard College, he sought to cultivate a taste for general literature in the college. He united prudence and candor with gentleness. On the ground of ill health, in 1739 he resigned. The resignation was accepted with reluctance, and the gratitude for the service of thirteen years was hearty. His usefulness to the community, however, did not close with his resignation. On his return to Wethersfield he was chosen a member of the House of Representatives, and served as Speaker. He was afterwards elected a judge of the Superior Court. In the expedition against Louisburg, in 1745, he volunteered to go as chaplain of the Connecticut troops. In the following year he was appointed colonel of the regiment. A few years after he went to England to secure the pay due his regiment. In England he formed associations with many able men. He died in Wethersfield in 1775, at the age of sixty-one.

The beginning of the fourth regular administration in the headship of Yale College opens a new and a great period, both in the college and in the affairs of the Commonwealth. In

Thomas Clap, Commonwealth and college found an executive of unique efficiency. Like the preceding rectors, he had taken his first degree at Harvard. For thirteen years he had been minister of the church in Wyndham. At the time of his election, in 1739, he was in his thirty-seventh year. The twenty-seven years of his administration were troublous and eventful. The most important act of his administration was the granting of the new charter. The charter continued the powers conferred in the first, but it gave a more liberal and definite statement of these powers. The name Collegiate School was changed to the name of Yale College; the title of Rector and Trustees to President and Fellows. Greater power was conferred upon the president, lifting him to the headship of the Corporation. Under this charter of 1745, as Harvard under the charter of 1650, the College is still administered. President Clap also introduced the professorial system, as an addition to the tutorial system, which so far had prevailed. The first professorship founded was that of divinity, and the second that of natural history, although the natural-history chair was not actually established until five years after his retirement. It would be hard to find stronger evidence of the breadth of learning which it was desired to promote than lies in the establishment of two chairs which have so often been regarded as antagonistic in their teaching and influence. President Clap also anticipated the contest which emerged sixty years after, in what is known as the Dartmouth College case. He proved that the Corporation had the right to manage the College without subjection to visitation by the Assembly. He withdrew the College congregation from the New Haven church into a separate body within the college walls. He broadened the course of study. Through his endeavors, what was long known as South Middle was, in 1750 and 1752, built. In the earlier years of his administration he was numbered with the "old lights," but in the later years with the "new lights."

The greatness of his administration arose from the strength of his character. He lacked in the graces of manner and in the art of conciliation. He seems to have possessed a determination and resolution approaching, as President Stiles says, absolute

despotism. Industrious as well as energetic, strenuous for orthodoxy, as well as learned, for his times, in mathematics and philosophy, facile and earnest, patient as well as aggressive, he was the first greatly efficient president. To him, as to President Blair, of William and Mary, whose administration closed four years after Clap's began, each college was indebted for unique and precious services.

President Clap reaffirmed a condition and method which was characteristic of the Colony, but which was not the result of large wisdom. At the time of the adoption of the Saybrook platform, in 1708, the president and tutors were obliged to assent to it; such assent they were required to give for more than a hundred years; the formal annulling of the requirement occurring in 1818. But this general provision for the promotion of orthodoxy President Clap believed was not sufficient. A declaration of greater definiteness, touching the orthodox faith of the officers of the College, he desired to be required of them at the time of their induction. He also demanded that an especially full examination of the doctrinal tenets of each occupant of the professorship of divinity should be made. The provisions made for the putting out of heretics were not merely formal. The endeavor was made in 1757 to expel a member of the Corporation, the Rev. Mr. Noyes, on the ground of heterodoxy.[1] The orthodoxy of the student body was also promoted by careful conditions. Two years after the charges were brought against Mr. Noyes for heterodoxy, a wealthy merchant of Newport, an adherent of the Baptist faith, offered to present writings of the Rev. Dr. James Foster, on the condition that the students should be allowed to read them freely. The orthodoxy of Dr. James Foster was open to question. The gift was refused. The comment of Ezra Stiles, then a minister in Newport, who knew the donor as well as the president, was to the effect that the refusal justified the imputations of bigotry which had been made against the president.

The strict Calvinism of the College is also evidenced in the practice of obliging the sons of Episcopal parents to attend

[1] Dexter, "Yale Biographies and Annals," vol. ii, pp. 442, 443.

the College church. In the year 1754 Samuel Johnson writes, intimating that the President of Yale College has not the right to exclude certain people holding certain beliefs from having the benefit of education in the College. Such people should have the advantage of education, and also the right to follow the dictates of their conscience in reference to attending religious services. The benefactions of certain friends of Yale would not have been made, Dr. Johnson believes, had they known the strictness of the requirements regarding church attendance. It is intimated that both Governor Yale and Bishop Berkeley could not be other than opposed to such unreasoning strictness. The policy of exclusion is unjust and uncharitable as well as opposed to "politics."

In New England, excepting in Rhode Island, the members of the Episcopal Church were dissenters, and their condition approached in severity and limitation the condition of the members of the Non-Conforming body in England down to recent days. Dissenters, however, had a much narrower lot in England up to the middle of the last century, for they were absolutely excluded from Oxford and Cambridge.

The contrast between the endeavors of Yale College to promote the orthodoxy of its officers through subscription, and the liberal spirit of Harvard College, is sharp. The clergymen of the Massachusetts Colony were as truly the founders or the graduates of its college, as were the clergymen of the Connecticut the founders or the graduates of Yale. The desire also of perpetuating sound doctrine was as ardent in the northern as in the southern colony. But neither the first constitution of Harvard College, of 1642, nor the charter of 1650, which still is in force, suggest subscription. Not an expression is found intimating the desire or purpose to take away the individual liberty of any officer. No attempt is made to lay bonds upon the conscience of president or tutors. Piety and godliness, morality and learning, are the definite, comprehensive purposes proposed.

The reason of the fundamental difference in the methods of the two Colonies and of the two colleges in securing orthodoxy, lies, I believe, in the more liberal character and spirit of the

ministers of Massachusetts. Although from the first decade of Harvard College down to the present there have been enthusiasts who have seen fit to oppose the College on the ground of heresy, yet such leaders as Thomas Shepard and John Cotton in the early time have helped to prove the falsity of such judgments. The influence of the spirit of John Robinson prevailed more strongly and constantly in Plymouth and in the Bay Colony than in the Connecticut and the New Haven. The parting instruction he gave his church respecting the duty of individual interpretation of the Scriptures, and respecting the right of private judgment, has obtained in Massachusetts. The leaders of the Massachusetts Colony were men of the large type, who were more willing to trust the cause of orthodoxy and of religious doctrine to the individual conscience.

The history of Yale College in the first three-quarters of the century was determined in no small degree by general political conditions. These conditions were almost as largely European as American. For a century the relations between England and France affected the citizen of New Haven or of Deerfield quite as closely as the resident of Liverpool or of Paris. The coalition which William III. formed against Louis XIV. resulted in campaigns which cost Connecticut alone twelve thousand pounds. The people of the colonies were obliged to defend themselves against attacks made from Montreal and Quebec, as thoroughly as the Prince of Waldeck was obliged to defend himself against Luxembourg. The Peace of Ryswick, in 1697, helped forward the foundation of the College, as the war, which this treaty ended, had retarded the foundation. But the War of the Spanish Succession began in the first year following the establishment of the College. This war resulted in a French and Indian alliance against England's colonies. Connecticut needed her sons to defend her own frontier on the west. She was ordered to send troops against the Indians in Maine. She was directed to provide a coterie of troops to aid in the defense of the river which belongs at once to Massachusetts and to herself. Each year, for several years, she was required to keep not less than five hundred soldiers in actual service. Her sons were found on the frontier from the Hudson to the St. Lawrence. Money as well as human

service was required. At a time when the circulating medium of the Colony was scarcely two thousand pounds, more than this amount was paid out in three years on account of the war budget. At the beginning of Rector Clap's administration war was breaking out between England and Spain. This war proved to be the beginning of a more general contest. The death of Charles VI. involved all the governments of Europe. New England was invaded. Her seamen were driven from their fishing; her ships were captured. The French Armada, as it was called, of 1746 was as significant to New England as was the Spanish Armada of one hundred fifty-eight years before to old England. In one of the campaigns against the Spaniards, out of a thousand New England men nine hundred perished. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, of 1748, closed one war. It was only seven years after that England and France were again at war. Men and treasure were demanded, and given. A thousand men, under the command of a Yale graduate, were mobilized to drive the French from Crown Point. In 1757, in the fear lest Montcalm should attack the western frontier, Connecticut raised in a few days five thousand men. Two years after, when on the Heights of Abraham France was driven out of the northern territory, Connecticut again put five thousand men into the field. In the following year seven regiments, to the number of at least seven thousand, were raised. In the period of this long and costly war the best blood of the Colony was freely given.

In times of war not only are the laws silent, but also academic interests suffer. In a vote passed in 1757 the Yale Corporation required that the next Commencement should be private, in order to avoid expense. The Fellows describe the war as calamitous and distressing, and also suggest that it calls for "the practice of industry and frugality." They affirm that "all kinds of luxury and extravagance" are, in a particular manner, "wrong and undesirable."[1]

It was not until almost a score of years after its founding that the College of Connecticut became known as Yale College. In the year 1714 the college received, as a gift from England, eight

[1] "Yale College," vol. i, p. 87.

hundred books. Among the list of donors is found the name of Elihu Yale. Elihu Yale was born in Boston, in or about 1648. He was, however, of New Haven stock. His father, David Yale, was the stepson of Gov. Theophilus Eaton. The father moved to Boston, and thence the family returned to England. At about the age of twenty-five Elihu Yale went to India. He rose rapidly and was appointed governor of Fort St. George, Madras. During his residence of some thirty years he made a large fortune; in 1699 he returned to England.

Jeremiah Dummer, who was the agent of the College in England, sought the acquaintance of Governor Yale, and succeeded in interesting him in the new institution. His relationship with the New World prepared him to be interested in any college in America, and his relationship with the New Haven Colony prepared him to be interested in particular in its college. Mr. Dummer seems to have been an efficient representative. Governor Yale, apparently, had a large heart toward education. He intimated to Mr. Dummer that it was his purpose to make a gift to an Oxford college. Mr. Dummer persuaded him to transfer his proposed generosity to America.

To the gift of forty books, of the year 1714, Governor Yale presently added three hundred volumes; and in the year of 1718 goods to the value of five hundred and sixty-two pounds were received in Boston for the benefit of the college. The five hundred and sixty-two pounds thus secured, and other gifts, permitted the finishing of the first college building. In securing this result Cotton Mather was, without doubt, an efficient help. In 1718 Cotton Mather wrote to Governor Yale, saying: "Though you have your felicities in your family, which I pray God to continue and multiply, yet certainly, if what is forming at New Haven might wear the name of Yale College, it would be better than a name of sons and daughters."[1] At the Commencement of 1718 the Trustees voted to name the building Yale College, as was stated in a contemporary account, "to perpetuate the memory of the honourable governor, Elihu Yale, Esquire, of London, who had granted so liberally a bountiful

[1] Dexter, "Yale University," p. 18.

donation for the perfecting and adorning it."[1] Governor Yale died three years after. A short time before his death he made a will in which he bequeathed to the College the sum of five hundred pounds. He also, seeking to be his own executor, prepared to send goods to the value of five hundred pounds to the College, but before they were shipped he died. Neither the proceeds of the goods nor any advantage from the will was received by the College.

Like John Harvard, from very small gifts, with most generous intention, Elihu Yale raised for himself a great memorial. The contrast and likeness between these two founders, in origin, condition, career, are significant. The one was a clergyman born in England and there was educated, who, soon after his arrival in America, died. The other was born in America ten years after the death of Harvard, went to England and there was educated; served as governor in India, returned, died in England, and is buried in Wrexham, Wales. But they were alike in giving books and money to the foundation or promotion of the two Colleges that bear their names, and both will live in the respect and gratitude of men.

Next to Governor Yale the most distinguished donor of the early time was Bishop George Berkeley. Berkeley came to America in 1728. Almost a score of years before he had published his essay on the "New Theory of Vision," and also his more celebrated "Theory of Idealism." Benevolent, and possessed of fortune, he desired to found a college in America for the education of missionaries to the Indians. Here he wrote his "The Minute Philosopher." Although he had designed to found his college in the Bermudas, the conditions of a tedious voyage had placed him in Rhode Island. Here he took up his residence, awaiting the receipt of a grant promised by the Government. The grant never came. The Bishop, therefore, with reluctance, determined to give up his scheme of a college, and in 1731, after a residence of three years, he returned to England. Through his acquaintance with Samuel Johnson, who had served as tutor at Yale College, Bishop Berkeley had become interested in Yale.

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[1] "Yale College," vol. i, p. 46.

Soon after his return he sent over nearly a thousand volumes, valued at five hundred pounds, which was, says President Clap, the finest collection of books ever brought to America at one time. Among the books were an early complete collection of the Christian Fathers, copies of most of the Greek and Latin classics, and the best books in theology, history, science, and general literature. Soon after his return he conveyed to the College the farm which he had occupied in Rhode Island, and which is still known as the Dean's farm. The conditions of the gift were to the effect that the income derived from the farm should be appropriated to the advantage of the best scholars of Latin and Greek. For more than a hundred and fifty years some of the most distinguished sons of the College have enjoyed the advantages of the Berkeley foundation.

The donations of Governor Yale and of Bishop Berkeley, although the most conspicuous of the first seventy-five years, were not the only ones that deserve notice. Throughout this period the General Assembly was appropriating a hundred pounds a year, and in some years twice that amount. In certain years, and for special reasons, the grant was omitted. In 1722 a sum amounting to one hundred and fifteen pounds was given to build the Rector's house. In three years, in the middle of the century, the General Assembly gave more than eleven hundred pounds toward a new building. About the same time forty pounds were appropriated for a new kitchen and a fence for the Rector's house. The three colonies which claimed the first three American colleges were, in view of their poverty and the scarcity of money, exceedingly generous toward the three institutions. Gifts of land were not unusual in the early time. The first gift which Yale received, aside from the legendary gifts of books made at the foundation, consisted of six hundred and thirty-seven acres of land in Killingsly, made by James Fitch of Norwich. In 1717, and the years following, several persons gave land, in amount from two acres to forty. Gifts, too, of materials and labor toward erecting the College building are noted. In almost each year occur presentations of books. Physical apparatus was given at various times, such as a telescope, a microscope, a barometer, an air pump, and various mathematical and electrical instru-

ments. The amount of these and of all donations is usually small. As one looks over the list published in President Clap's "Annals," he finds that the more common entries represent two or three pounds each. The money in circulation was limited. The people were poor.

The life of the undergraduates of this early period was a transcript of the life of the Colony. After the College was settled in New Haven the students largely lived in the building which the donation of Governor Yale helped to build. This building was of wood. Its length was one hundred and seventy feet, its width twenty-two, its height three stories. Above the third story was a steep-roofed attic. The entrances were on the side, of which there were three. The building was used for practically all the College purposes — chapel, dining room, library, and as a hall of residence. Inclusive of the attic, there were twenty-two rooms with attached bedrooms, which were first made to accommodate two, but afterwards three, persons each. To this building, it may be said, the name of Yale College [1] was specifically applied, although, of course, also the name was applied to the institution. This building remained for more than thirty years the only building. Until the college year of 1775–76 it served well its purpose. The larger part of it was then torn down because of its dilapidated condition. At this time it had come to be known as Old College. Manasseh Cutler, a graduate of the Class of 1765, going back to the College in 1787, a dozen years after its demolition, says that "it was by far the most sightly building of any one that belonged to the University. . . . It gave an air of grandeur to the others." [2]

In this building and in "South Middle," erected in the sixth

[1] The first academic buildings built in America were called "colleges." All the buildings at Harvard down to 1720 were known by this name. The building erected in 1720, Massachusetts, which still stands, was the first to be called "hall." For the next sixty years the words "college" and "hall" applied to a building were used indifferently; but with the passing of Stoughton College in 1780 the word "college" as an official name of a building disappeared. The same usage obtained at Yale. The term "hall" was not fixed upon any building until 1853, when the Graduates or Alumni Hall was built; and it was as recent as 1887 that the frequent use of the term began.

[2] Dexter's "Yale Biographies and Annals," vol. i, pp. 198, 199.

decade, the Yale students lived. The life was a life of laws. The rules and regulations which concerned the students' daily and hourly existence were many and minute. They were commanded, in general, to "Live Religious, Godly and Blameless Lives according to the Rules of God's Word, diligently Reading the Holy Scriptures, the Fountain of Light and Truth; and constantly attend upon all the Duties of Religion both in Publick and Secret."[1] This general principle is reenforced by certain definite requirements: "If any Scholar Shall deny the Holy Scriptures or any Part of Them to be the Word of God: or be guilty of Heresy or any Error directly Tending to Subvert the Fundamentals of Christianity, and continuing Obstinate therein after the first and Second Admonition, He Shall be Expelled.

"If any Scholar shall be Guilty of Profane Swearing, Cursing, Vowing, any Petty or Implicit Oath, Profane or Irreverent Use of the Names, Attributes, Ordinances or Word of God; Disobedient or Contumacious or Refractory Carriage towards his Superiours, Fighting, Striking, Quarrelling, Challenging, Turbulent Words or Behaviour, Drunkenness, Uncleaness, Lacivious Words or Actions, wearing woman's Aparrel, Defrauding, Injustice, Idleness, Lying, Defamation, Tale bareing or any other Such like Immoralities, He Shall be Punished by Fine, Confession, Admonition or Expulsion, as the Nature and Circumstances of the Case may Require."[2] Attendance, too, upon the exercises of the Church was required. "Every Student of the College Shall diligently attend upon the Duties of Religious Worship, both Private and Publick of the Sabbath Day, and Shall attend upon the Said Public Worship of God in the Meeting-House with the President and Tutors on the Lord's Day, and on Days of Public Fasting and Thanksgiving appointed by Authority, and all Public Lectures appointed by the Minister of the first Society of New Haven, upon Penalty of Four Pence for absence (without Sufficient reason) on either Part of the Sabbath or any Day of Public Fasting or Thanksgiving and three Pence for Absence on a Lecture, one Penny for comeing Tardy. And if any Student

[1] Dexter's "Yale Biographies and Annals," vol. ii, p. 3.
[2] Ibid., p. 7.

Shall be Detain'd by Sickness or a necessary Occasion He Shall signifie the Same to the President or any one of the Tutors on the morning; or otherwise his Excuse Shall be judged as Groundless unless it otherwise manifestly appear to be Sufficient." [1]

These positive requirements were supported by certain negative requisitions. The student whose presence is demanded at certain regular church services is forbidden to attend services, either public or private, on the Sabbath or on any other day, which are appointed by other authorities than the public or which are not approved by the president. He is also required not to profane the Sabbath by unnecessary business, diversion, and walking.

The personal manners of the student were also considered. Respect for all superiors, such as parents, magistrates, and ministers, the president, fellows, and tutors of the College, was demanded. Uncovering the head, rising up, bowing, keeping silence in their presence, were required. It is also in particular enjoined that " All Undergraduates Shall be uncovered in the College Yard when the President or either of the Fellows or Tutors are there: and when They are in their Sight and View in any other Place: and all the Bacchelors of Arts Shall be uncovered in the College Yard when the President is there; and all the Scholars shall Bow when he Goes in or out of the College Hall, or into the Meeting-House, provided that the Public Worship is not Begun. And Scholars Shall Shew due Respect and Distance to those who are in Senior and Superiour Classes." [2]

Not only are the religion, the morals, and the manners of the students to be fostered, but also their scholastic character is to be disciplined by constant care. The order of each day was that " Every Student Shall diligently apply himself to his Studies in his Chamber as well as attend upon all Public Exercises appointed by the President or Tutors, and no Student Shall walk abroad, or be absent from his Chamber, Except Half an hour after breakfast, and an hour and an half after Dinner, and from prayers at Night to Nine o' the Clock, without Leave, upon

[1] Dexter's "Yale Biographies and Annals," vol. ii, p. 4.
[2] Ibid., pp. 4, 5.

Penalty of Two Pence or more to Sixpence, at the Discretion of ye President and Tutors.

"To this End The President or Tutors Shall, by Turns, or as They conveniently can visit Student's Chambers after Nine o'Clock, to See whether They are at their Chambers, and apply themselves to their Studies."[1]

The morals of the men in the new colleges of the New World were at least somewhat superior to those of the men at Oxford and Cambridge of the same and a later time. The literary and social life of the Oxford student of the eighteenth century, imitating the customs of the metropolis, centered in the college clubs. Among such bodies are preserved the names of the Amorous Club, the Poetical Club, the Punning Club, the Witty Club, and the Handsome Club. A rival of the latter was the Ugly Club, immortalized by Steele. Of the purpose and character of these clubs not much more is known than is indicated in the names themselves; the names, however, are doubtless characteristic. Diverse as one might infer their primary ends to have been, common to them all seems to have been the habit of smoking and drinking, and smoking and drinking to excess. The pipe had become fashionable, and scholars and divines were among those most addicted to it. The Dean of Christ Church himself was such a constant smoker that a young gentleman wagered with his friend that at the very moment the topic was mentioned the Dean could be found smoking. They started off to prove the point and found the Dean, not smoking, but filling his pipe between smokes.

Even more characteristic of the eighteenth century than smoking was the habit of excessive drinking, and especially among the members of the Oxford colleges. A great theologian of this time was accustomed to keep by his side while writing a bottle of ale, brandy, or wine, and constantly would drink of it. To the fellows of the University it was possible to refer as "debauchees." An Oxford Doctor of Divinity not infrequently became so intoxicated that the help of his friends was necessary to take him to his lodgings. A punch bowl bequeathed

[1] Dexter's "Yale Biographies and Annals," vol. ii, p. 5.

to Jesus College was considered a most fitting gift. In skating season, we are told, Christ Church Meadow was crowded with kegs of brandy and other cordials. As late as the beginning of the nineteenth century Andrew Crosse wrote to his mother: "Oxford is a perfect hell upon earth. What chance is there for an unfortunate lad just come from school, with no one to watch and care for him—no guide? I often saw my tutor carried off, perfectly intoxicated." But the drinking of Crosse's time was not to be compared with the excesses which were just passing away. Of Lord Lovelace it was said by his Principal that "he never knew him sober but twelve hours, and that he used every morning to drink a quart of brandy, or something equivalent to it, to his own share."[1] Records show that in the University men of all grades, from junior members to the professor of Astronomy, brought to themselves an untimely death by hard drinking.

The care of the authorities at Yale in the eighteenth century was quite unlike that obtaining at Oxford. It extended into the details of the personal life of the students. The rules made are significant of pranks touching so academic and personal a matter as clothing. Going out of the College Yard without a hat, coat, or gown is an offense which subjects the offender to a fine of threepence. The wearing of indecent apparel, although no intimation is had wherein the indecency may consist, brings a heavier punishment of two shillings. Such sports, too, as are involved in keeping a gun, or firing a gun or pistol in the College yard, or going gunning, fishing, or sailing, involve a similar mulct. The misspending, too, of precious time, without first obtaining liberty from the president or tutors, as may be embodied in going to a court, election, town meeting, wedding, or meeting of young people for diversion, is an equally serious misdemeanor.

If at the present time in the twentieth century the Freshman is compelled to perform certain acts designed to keep him in a proper state of humility, the Freshman of the first century of Yale College was subjected to certain permanent conditions ap-

[1] J. R. Green's "Oxford Studies," chapter v, p. 71.

parently far more humiliating than the performance of acts of a temporary duration. Among the rules touching the first-year men is, "That Every Freshman Shall be Obliged to Go any reasonable and proper and reasonable Errand when he is Sent by any Student in any Superior Class; and if he Shall refuse So to do he may be punished: provided . . . that no undergraduate Shall Send a Freshman anywhere in Studying Time, without Liberty first had from ye President or Oone of the Tutors."[1] That this rule embodied a very vital condition in the undergraduate administration is evident from a vote passed in the College year of 1761–62 to the effect that the Senior Class, and not the Sophomores, shall have the immediate care of instructing the Freshmen in the rules of good manners and of going on errands.[2]

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[1] Dexter's "Yale Biographies and Annals," vol. ii, p. 9.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 725.

Oliver Wollcot, Jr., of the Class of 1778, has left a description of a visit which he made to New Haven in 1773. "I went up to College in the evening, to observe the Scene of my future exploits, with emotions of awe and reverence. Men in black robes, white wigs, and high cocked hats; young men, dressed in camblet gowns, passed us in small groups. The men in Robes and Wigs, I was told, were Professors; the young men in Gowns were Students. There were young men in black silk Gowns, some with Bands, and others without. These were either Tutors in the College, or resident Graduates, to whom the title of *Sir* was accorded. When we entered the College Yard, a new scene was presented. There was a class who wore no Gowns, and who walked, but never ran or jumped, in the yard. They appeared much in awe, or looked surly, after they passed by the young men habited in Gowns and Staves. Some of the young Gownsmen treated those who wore neither Hats nor Gowns in the yard, with hardness, and what I thought indignity. I give an instance: 'Nevill, go to my room, middle story of old College, No. —, and take from it a pitcher, fill it from the pump, place it in my room, and stay there till I return.' To such a mandate, delivered by a slender sprig to a sturdy Country Lad, apparently much his superior in Age and Strength, the answer might be various, according to circumstances and the temper of the Parties, viz., 'I have been sent on an errand.' 'Who sent you?' 'Tutor H.' Or the mandate might be submitted to, pleasantly with a smile, or contemptuously with a sneer. The domineering young men in Gowns, I was told by my conductors, were Scholars or Students of the Sophomore Class, and those without Hats and Gowns, and who walked in the yard, were Freshmen, who, out of the Hours of Study, were waiters or servants to the Authority, President, Professors, Tutors, and Undergraduates."—Dexter's "Yale Biographies and Annals," vol. iii, p. 467.

The College Commons has, ever since the sad days of Mrs. Eaton at Cambridge, embodied an important part of academic interest. Colleges have usually, in at least an unofficial way, endeavored to provide food for their students. The arrangements thus made have commonly represented a point of embarrassment for both the officer and the student. The rules at Yale College, in the middle of the eighteenth century, touching the Commons are exact. Tutors or Senior scholars are required to make a blessing at the table or to return thanks, and all the scholars are expected to attend to it decently and orderly, and to abstain from all clamorous talk. The requirement, too, that the tables shall be covered with decent linen cloths, and that they shall be washed once a week, is somewhat significant. The food was, in both amount and variety, well fitted to develop the severer elements of intellectual and moral character. The bill of fare, drawn up by the Corporation in the College year of 1740–41, is:

"For Breakfast: one loaf of bread for 4 (persons), which (the dough) shall weigh one pound.

"For Dinner for 4: one loaf of bread, as aforesaid; 2½ pounds of beef, veal, or mutton, or 1¾ pounds of salt pork about twice a week in the summer time; one quart of beer; two pennyworth of sauce.

"For Supper for 4: two quarts of milk and one loaf of bread, when milk can be conveniently had; and when it cannot, then an apple-pie, which shall be made of 1¾ pounds of dough, ¼ pound of hog's fat, two ounces sugar, and one peck of apples."[1]

Six years later a similar bill of fare is reported, including beef and apple pie of equal depth and fatness, but containing the addition of beer for supper. Beer and wine early emerge as points of difficulty. At the Commencement of 1749, the Corporation voted to sell twenty barrels of strong beer in a year, but not a bit more, and they also voted that if any undergraduate shall buy any beer of any person in the town of New Haven excepting the butler, without having first obtained per-

[1] Dexter's "Yale Biographies and Annals," vol. i, p. 663.

mission from the president or tutor, he shall be fined a sum not to exceed one shilling. In the year following, the Corporation requested the president to signify to the people of New Haven that no one within three miles of the College shall sell any of the students strong liquor without a written order from one of the officers, and they also declared that any student who is detected in bringing liquor into the College without permission is to lose his social rank in the class. It is apparent, however, that the Trustees are not unwilling that the students shall drink beer, but are also eager that they shall drink good beer. In the College year of 1732–33 it was agreed by the Trustees "That every barrel of beer delivered to the butler at eight shillings per barrel shall be made of half a bushel of good barley malt after it is ground, or a bushel of good oat malt after it is ground, or a peck of good barley malt and a quart of good molasses, or half a bushel of good oat malt—after it is ground—and a quart of good molasses, and be mashed and well brewed and hopped."[1]

Other beverages beside beer, however, were the occasion of disturbance. Even tea is the subject of a vote passed at the Commencement of 1756. It is declared that "Whereas many of the Students have wasted much of their precious Time in going in each others Chambers and Drinking Tea in the afternoon: It is ordered that if any student shall drink tea out of his own Chamber in studying time in the afternoon, he shall be fined one Shilling."[2] Connected with the Commons as an almost integral part was what at both Yale and Harvard was known as the Buttery. The one having charge of the buttery was the butler. The butler was in the early time, and continued to be, an important college functionary—until 1801 at Harvard, and at Yale for sixteen years longer. His duties were many. He seems to have been a man of all work, but his chief duty, apparently, was to furnish food and drink to the students which they could not easily get in the Commons Hall. It was an office of some degree of serious significance. Stiles, who became President, held

[1] Dexter's "Yale Biographies and Annals," vol. i, p. 472.
[2] Ibid., vol. ii, p. 402.

it in the year 1748, and resigned from it on being appointed tutor. Among the buttery charges made against a student in one of the last years of the eighteenth century are noted cider, walnuts, pipes, biscuit, raisins, chestnuts, apples, ale, and black-ball (black-ball was a composition of blacking for the boots, to make them tight against snow and rain), tobacco, metheglin, cakes, hazelnuts, beer, paper, eggs, chalk, prunes, corkscrews, almonds, mead, pears, bowls, figs, watermelons, pomatum (a kind of white black-ball for the hair), looking-glasses, pitchers, butternuts, gin, and wine.[1]

The buttery, as an informal lunch counter, could not have failed to be a place of great fun. Throughout the first hundred years of Yale, and more than the first hundred and fifty years of Harvard, both the man and the place embodied an interesting and significant condition.

The undergraduate life was also affected by the social customs of the community. Sons of clergymen and of the colonial officers were regarded as of superior social grade to the sons of farmers, of merchants, and of mechanics. The higher social rank shows itself in various privileges in the dining room and in the recitation room, as well as in the college catalogue. It was not until the democratic spirit of the middle decades of the eighteenth century was manifest that the alphabetical order of placing the names in the catalogue was introduced. A member of the Class of 1769 at Yale writes to the founder of Dartmouth College, saying: "There appears a laudable ambition to excel in knowledge. It is not he that has got the finest coat or largest ruffles that is esteemed here at present. And as the class henceforward are to be placed alphabetically, the students may expect marks of distinction put upon the best scholars and speakers."[2]

Throughout this period the expenses of the ordinary student were of an amount commensurate with the expense of living in the ordinary home whence came the student. At the Commencement of 1719 the Trustees voted that the annual charge for

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[1] "Yale College," vol. i, p. 449.

[2] Dexter's "Yale Biographies and Annals," vol. iii, p. 264.

tuition should be fixed at thirty shillings, and for rent of room at twenty. Each graduate was obliged to pay, as a fee for his diploma, twenty shillings. The charge each week for diet, sweeping, and making beds was fixed at four shillings, fourpence. When one makes the adjustments for depreciation of the currency, it is apparently clear that the entire college expenses were considerably less than a hundred dollars.

Some of the more general and specific elements of college life are drawn from the diary of a Junior at Yale in the year 1762. The writer is Ebenezer Baldwin, who served as tutor from 1766 to 1770, and who, after a brief pastorate at Danbury, became chaplain in the Revolutionary Army in 1776. Among the records covering the months of March, April, and May are:

"26th. Studied my recitation in Tully de Oratore.

"27th, Saturday. Attended Coll. Exs. Heard Mr. Daggett preach two sermons on the trinity of ye Godhead, I John, v, 8. Read some in Milton's Samp. Agon.

"29. Attended Coll. Exs. Studied Homer almost ye whole day. Read a few pages in Tuscul. Disput. Had no recns to-day, our Tutor being out of town.

"30. Attended prayers. Studied Homer in forenoon. Writ argument on our forensick question, wh. was WHETHER ADAM KNEW YT ETERNAL DAMNATION WOULD BE HIS DOOM IF HE EAT THE FORBIDDEN FRUIT? Had no recitation. Afternoon worked out a question in Algebra and studied some in Septuagint.

"31. Studied Homer part of day, ye Septuagint part. Spent part in making a declamation.

"April 1. Studied Homer most of ye day. Some in Martin's Philosophy.

"2d. Homer in the forenoon and Septuagint. Read some in Pope's Homer.

"Thursday, 8. Attended Col. Exs. Studied my recitations. Remainder of day studying Septuagint.

"Friday, 9. Attended Col. Exs. Studied Homer in the forenoon. In the afternoon read in Martin's Philosophy and in Whiston's Ast (Astronomical) Principles of Religion. At night Nichols, Halliock, and Brewster were publickly admonished for having a Dance at Milford, and for their general conduct. Bull, for going to Milford without liberty and for his general conduct, was ordered to depart from College and to live under the

care of some minister at a distance till he should show signs of reformation and be fit to take a degree. Hinman, Kellogg, Kingsbury, and Botsford were fined 2s. 6d. for being at the dance at Milford.

"Wednesday, 14. The method in which I divide my time is as follows nearly: Go to bed at 9 o'clock; rise about —[torn off; probably 6]; prayers and recitation which last to about 7½; go to breakfast, and, if ye weather is good, commonly take a small walk. This carries it to 8 or 8¼. Commonly from this time till 11 pursue my studies, unless something special; then attend recitation, which lasts to 12; then go to dinner; after, walk or follow some other exercise till —[torn off]; then pursue my studies again till near 6, when I attend on Prayers; after prayers go to supper, and spend ye remainder of the evening commonly in conversation.

"21. N. B.—Got through 16th Book of Homer, where I shall stop for ye present. Afternoon. In Pope's Homer. Spent remainder of ye afternoon in drinking tea and conversation.

"Evening felt melancholy and dejected on thinking of ye difficulties my DADDE must undergo to provide for me here at college." [1]

The diary gives a picture of the life and work of a sober-minded student. He attends properly to his sleep, exercise, studies, and food. Apparently, he sleeps at least eight hours. He exercises, through walking largely, for probably an hour. Recitations and preparation for them occupy nine of the twenty-four hours. Although he pays much attention to his studies, he does not neglect good-fellowship. The evening is spent in conversation. The hard work of the day is done in its early part. Homer and the Septuagint represent his more important studies. The preaching to which he listens on Sundays, and the exposition of the Scripture which he hears at college prayers twice a day, represent great subjects. He is willing to interpret Homer through Pope's paraphrases, and also reads "Mr. Milton's Paradise Regained." His writing syllogistic arguments on such questions "Whether Adam knew he would be eternally damned if he ate the forbidden fruit," opens opportunity for all manner of speculation. He is a good son as well as a good student. He feels anxious on account of the difficulty which his father meets in keeping him at college.

The college student is not a class, he is a race, and he is

[1] "Yale College," vol. i, pp. 444, 445, 446.

a race which is the same, apparently, in all centuries as in all climes.

A few years after the time Baldwin was keeping his diary, John Trumbull was writing a poem. Trumbull became known as the author of "Macfingal"; but while he was a tutor at Yale he wrote a poem called "The Progress of Dullness." The poem is a satire, but the lines serve to give a picture of the college coxcomb, and also to intimate certain changes in the college curriculum which Trumbull desired. He makes demands for the abolition of the ancient languages and for paying larger attention to English as a modern language:

"Lo! . . .
The coxcomb trips with sprightly haste,
In all the flush of modern taste;
Oft turning, if the day be fair,
To view his shadow's graceful air;
Well pleased, with eager eye runs o'er
The laced suit glittering gay before;
The ruffle, where, from open'd vest,
The rubied brooch adorns the breast;
The coat, with lengthening waist behind,
Whose short skirts dangle in the wind;
The modish hat, whose breadth contains
The measure of the owner's brains;
The stockings gay with various hues;
The little toe-encircling shoes;
The cane, on whose carv'd top is shown
An head, just emblem of his own;
While wrapp'd in self, with lofty stride,
His little heart elate with pride,
He struts in all the joys of show,
That tailors give or beaux can show. . . ."

"And yet, how oft the studious gain
The dullness of a lettered brain;
Despising such low things the while,
As English grammar, phrase and style;
Despising ev'ry nicer art
That aids the tongue, or mends the heart;

Read ancient authors o'er in vain,
Nor taste one beauty they contain;
Humbly on trust accept the sense,
But deal for words at vast expense;
Search well how every term must vary
From Lexicon to Dictionary;
And plodding on in one dull tone,
Gain ancient tongues and lose their own,
Bid every graceful charm defiance,
And woo the skeleton of science. . . ."

"Oh! might I live to see that day
When sense shall point to youths their way;
Through every maze of science guide;
O'er education's laws preside;
The good retain, with just discerning
Explode the quackeries of learning;
Give ancient arts their real due,
Explain their faults, and beauties too;
Teach where to imitate, and mend,
And point their uses and their end.
Then bright philosophy would shine,
And ethics teach the laws divine;
Our youths might learn each nobler art,
That shows a passage to the heart;
From ancient languages well known
Transfuse new beauties to our own;
With taste and fancy well refined,
Where moral rapture warms the mind,
From schools dismiss'd, with lib'ral hand,
Spread useful learning o'er the land;
And bid the eastern world admire
Our rising worth, and bright'ning fire." [1]

Throughout the prerevolutionary period the number of graduates at Yale and Harvard, and in the succeeding decades of the eighteenth century, increased. In the decade closing in 1710 Yale had thirty-six graduates, Harvard a hundred and twenty-three; in 1720 Yale had forty-seven, Harvard a hun-

[1] William L. Kingsley's "Yale College," vol. i, pp. 97, 98.

dred and forty-four; in 1730, Yale had increased to a hundred and thirty-five, and Harvard to three hundred and fifty; in 1740, Yale had a hundred and seventy-seven, and Harvard three hundred and twenty-six; in 1750, Yale had increased to two hundred and twenty-two, and Harvard had fallen off to two hundred and forty-two; in 1760, for the first time in their respective histories, Yale showed a larger number; Yale had increased to two hundred and seventy-four, and Harvard had increased only to two hundred and fifty-six; in 1770, Yale had three hundred and thirty-eight, and Harvard four hundred and thirteen; in the decade closing in 1780, both had suffered a slight diminution, Yale having three hundred and sixteen, and Harvard four hundred and six students. The call of arms was more persuasive than the call of wisdom.[1]

The general result of the first sixty-five years of the history of Yale is well summed up by President Clap in an appendix to his "Annals," in which he says: "The proficiency made by the students is various, according to their different genius and application: a number in each class are generally finished scholars in the languages and the liberal arts and sciences, and were they dignified with some kind of peculiar laurel, it might be an additional stimulus; but their superior qualifications are soon known to the world; and they, in a little time, make a useful figure in the church or State. Most of our superior gentlemen who have shined brightest at the Council Board, on the Bench, at the Bar, or in the Army, have had their education in this Society. And some of them of late years have applied the principles of mechanical and experimental philosophy to the improvement of Agriculture; and have been able to instruct their neighbors in the science, for the publick Good."[2]

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[1] "Diary" of Ezra Stiles, vol. ii, p. 393.

[2] Clap's "Annals of Yale College," p. 89.

CHAPTER IV

PRINCETON, PENNSYLVANIA, AND COLUMBIA

Sixty-five years divide the foundation of Harvard from the foundation of Yale, and forty-five years divide the foundation of Yale from the foundation of the fourth college in the New World. Within, however, the period covered by the last half of the fifth decade of the eighteenth century and the first half of the sixth decade are founded three colleges. In space, Harvard and Yale are separated by about a hundred and seventy-five miles, but the three colleges founded in the middle of the century are situated within a hundred miles of one another. These three colleges—Princeton, the University of Pennsylvania, and Columbia—represent, as a group, the beginning of the movement of establishing institutions of the higher learning in nearness of both space and time, a movement characteristic of the last hundred and fifty years of American life. Geographical relationships henceforth have small value in determining the foundation of colleges.

The remoteness of Harvard and Yale in respect to the time of their foundation, and the contemporaneousness of the establishment of the three institutions in the middle colonies, are in no greater contrast than is found in the conditions of the people among whom the two sets of institutions existed. The New England colleges were indeed New England institutions. The people who constituted them were alike in origin, language, civil and religious constitution, and environments. They were all influenced by the same purposes in their crossing the sea. Until after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, which resulted in the addition to the New England population of a small number of Huguenots, it would have been difficult to have heard any other language than the English between Popham on the Kennebec and the settlements on the lower Con-

necticut. But into New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania came many peoples diverse in origin and unlike in language. They were foreigners in the new land and aliens to each other. The Dutch, Scotch, Scotch-Irish, German, Waldensese from Piedmont, Swedes, Huguenots from France, represent the more important nationalities. Moravians, Jews, Presbyterians, Quakers, Anabaptists, English Independents, English Episcopalians, represent the more important ecclesiastical beliefs and affiliations. The present cosmopolitan character of New York and its neighborhood had an early origin.

In respect both to numbers and to influence, the most important of these diverse peoples were the Dutch, the Scotch-Irish, and the Quakers. But to them should be added a number of Connecticut men who, although few, contributed a unique element to the educational and other history of the Jersey colonies.

The Dutchmen, whose center was in New Amsterdam, at an early date crossed the Hudson and formed settlements at Hoboken and other points. Like the Puritan, the Hollander had an affinity for education. The first Synod of Dort, of 1574, passed a resolution to the effect that the ministers of the church should obtain permission from the magistrates of every place for the appointment of schoolmasters. John of Nassau, the eldest brother of William the Silent, in a letter written to his son, declares that the States-General should establish free schools where all children could be well educated. He affirms that soldiers, and patriots who are well educated, together with churches, libraries, books, and printing presses, are better than armies, arsenals, alliances, and treaties.[1] This people, coming from a land in which almost every inhabitant could read or write, and could usually speak two or more languages, did not neglect education in their changed conditions. As early as 1633 a Collegiate Church School was set up, which is still maintained. From time to time, from place to place, as the population enlarged, new schools were established; these schools

[1] Campbell's "The Puritan in Holland, England and America," vol. ii, p. 341.

were placed in connection with the church. The church was usually the schoolhouse, and the preacher in many cases the teacher.

Akin in numbers and influence to the Dutchmen were the Scotch and the Scotch-Irish people, who entered the central colonies. It is probable that before the end of the seventeenth century no less than two hundred thousand of these people had taken up their homes in America. Those who followed them, together with their children and grandchildren, embodied and still represent a most vital force in American life and character. Their respect for learning was deep. It was a part of the heritage received from the Reformation. Calvin and Knox were educationists as well as ecclesiastics, as was the Hollander, the Scotchman, and the Scotch-Irishman, who put his education into relation with his church. The kirk and the schoolhouse each supported the other. Without education piety would cease to be intelligent, and without piety the desire for education would be lessened. These people gave support both to the common school and the college. The requirement of John Knox regarding the establishment of common schools was quite akin to the early Massachusetts law, and the youngest of the four Scotch universities had been established one hundred and sixty-three years before the first charter was granted, in 1746, to the first college in New Jersey.

The followers of William Penn were probably as thoroughly in favor of common education as were either the Hollanders or the Scotch-Irishmen. They required that schools should be established for reading and writing English, and for arithmetic and bookkeeping. They intimated a willingness that Latin and other foreign languages be taught, but they emphasized in particular the teaching of those branches which are now represented in the phrase "a practical education." But the loyalty of the Quaker to the higher education was not so great as that which the Puritan or the Scotchman or the Hollander felt. The inner light was regarded as more precious than any flame kindled upon the academic altar. Fox declared that Oxford and Cambridge could not make a minister.

There was applied early in American life the principle of

immigration. The southern New England colonies were peopled by those who came from Massachusetts; the central colonies were in turn peopled by those who came from southern New England. The crisis in the affairs of the New Haven and Connecticut Colonies, in or about 1666, in respect to annexation, caused certain families from Branford and Guilford to come to New Jersey. The name of Milford was soon changed to Newark, after the English home of the pastor, Abraham Pierson, and Abraham Pierson became the father of the first president of Yale College, of the same name. He had taken his first degree at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1632. Thus in New Jersey as well as in Massachusetts was early felt the influence of the Puritan foundation.

Out, therefore, from these manifold and diverse populations—the Dutch, the Irish, the Scotch, and the colonial English—and also out of churches as diverse as the Presbyterian, the Dutch Reformed, the Congregational, and the Quaker meeting, came forth influences which created colleges, near the middle of the eighteenth century, in New Jersey, in the metropolis of New York and of Pennsylvania.

The first force in point of time, as well as in respect to efficiency, making for the higher education, was religion, and religion took the form of Presbyterianism. The polity and doctrine of the Presbyterian Church was undoubtedly the strongest bond uniting together considerable parts of the population of Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey in the first half of the eighteenth century. It was a unifying force far stronger than the common political sovereignty. This sovereignty showed itself in diverse forms in the three colonies. The loyalty given to the sovereign was also diverse, but the Presbyterianism of Ulster and of Glasgow, of Calvin and of Knox, was one. New England Puritanism, moreover, easily allied itself with Pennsylvania or New Jersey Presbyterianism.

The Presbyterians, furthermore, were more widely spread than the members of any other church. On reaching the Atlantic coast-board they easily pushed on toward the Alleghenies, and also moved southward into Virginia, or through Virginia into the Carolinas.

The union made between the different churches of the Presbyterian order, through Presbytery and Synod, was also a unity more compact than that which existed among the churches of the Congregational order which obtained in New England. As the Congregationalism of Connecticut, through what is known as Consociation, was closer than that which obtained among the churches of Plymouth or Massachusetts, through what is known as Association, so also the union between the Presbyterian churches of the middle Colonies was yet more compact. As early as 1706 the Presbyterians of Maryland, Virginia, and the middle Colonies were organized into a Presbytery, and as early as 1720 the Presbyterian Church joined together elements as diverse as the Scotch, the Irish, the New England immigrant, the Dutch, and the German.

At this time the question of the supply of ministers for these churches became imperative. It was the same question which had, in part, led to the establishment of Harvard nearly a century earlier. It was the same question which has led to the establishment of scores of other colleges in the succeeding decades of the following centuries in each of the new States of the American Commonwealth. The method of the first decades of the eighteenth century was not unlike the methods which have since prevailed. Without waiting for the action of the churches, individual ministers opened schools for the training of ministers. The men who subsequently became the first two presidents of Princeton opened such schools. Another minister was the founder of a school more famous than the schools of Dickinson and of Burr. The Log College, at the Forks of the Neshaminy, was one of the most unique of all the institutions which may be said, by a liberality of interpretation, to belong to the higher education established before the middle of the eighteenth century. Its founder, president, faculty, and Board of Trustees was William Tennent. Born in Ireland in 1673, an Episcopalian, married to the daughter of a Presbyterian minister, he was, for some reason unknown to us, deprived of his living, and, finding no satisfactory prospect of usefulness in his native land, came to America. For about thirty years, following his landing in Philadelphia in 1716, he was among

the most useful of all men and ministers. As an ecclesiastic he was zealous, sympathizing with Whitfield in belief and method; as a scholar he was among the most learned of the time. The personal institution took its name from its building—a log house, about twenty feet square. But from this simple and meager condition went forth several of the ablest ministers of the Presbyterian Church for the middle decades of the eighteenth century.

Tennent's college died when he died. Its usefulness, if not its dissolution, proved the need of an education more adequate for the advancement and for the demands of the church and of the people. In the year 1739 the Synod took action in reference to the establishment of a college for the whole church. This action was followed by debate, personal and ecclesiastical, in which it was proved that the gospel of peace, when lodged in churches, may become a condition, if not a cause, of war. After six years of discussion there was granted a charter to what is now known as Princeton University.

Although the founding of the college in New Jersey was promoted by the Presbyterian bodies, it is yet to be said that influences distinctly scholastic and human also prevailed. The college was not put into official affiliation with the Presbyterian Synod. Although controlled by men who were Presbyterians, it was managed by them not so much as Presbyterians as large-minded citizens. Two members of the Board of Trustees of twenty-three belonged to the Society of Friends, and one was a member of the Episcopal Church. Laymen as well as clergymen divided the membership between themselves in practically equal parts. Of the older trustees one, Governor Baldwin, had taken his degree at Harvard, and three at Yale. Of the twelve ministers, all had received a liberal education—six at Yale, three at Harvard, and three at the Log College of Tennent. The Corporation was a close one, choosing its own members. The government thus constituted contained a far larger lay element than had obtained at Harvard, William and Mary, or Yale. Although Presbyterian in origin and condition, the college was not subordinated to the interests of that church. If in its more than a century and a half of life it has been popularly regarded as an

integral part of Presbyterianism, it has never been in direct affiliation with that church, and in many respects its scholastic teachings and public influence have been much broader than some members of that communion have approved.

The desire which resulted in the establishment of a college in New Jersey was rendered efficient by that most powerful motive in the promotion of the higher education—religious zeal. While the efforts for the establishing of this college under a more liberal standard of the Presbyterian polity were being made, efforts of quite a different origin, and moving by quite different methods, were being put forth in Philadelphia. These efforts were in no small way, both directly and indirectly, the result of the character and service of a single man. Among the many and varied activities of Benjamin Franklin as a diplomatist, statesman, author, physicist, none will prove to be more lasting than his work which resulted in the establishment of the University of Pennsylvania. If the colleges founded before the middle of the eighteenth century were the creation of a church or of individual ministers, the College of Pennsylvania was the work of one man, who was in many respects alien to the churches, and who also had not received, at the time, the advantage of a university or college training. Honorary degrees were given to Benjamin Franklin by American and other colleges, and he was for a short time a student at Göttingen, the first of that long line of Americans who have been enrolled in the Hanoverian university. But although born within an hour's walk of Harvard College he had received no direct academic advantage therefrom. Benjamin Franklin, making his home in Philadelphia, became a leader in its higher life. In the first quarter century of his residence in Philadelphia he proved himself to be useful as a local citizen, as in the last quarter of the century of his life he was useful to America and to the world. In the year after the granting of the second and effective charter to Princeton, in 1749, Franklin undertook measures which resulted in the foundation of a university. The constitution which he and the attorney-general were asked to draw up represent the purposes and methods which Franklin at that time in his life held dear. The absence of a direct religious motive is significant.

The cultivation and improvement of a new country, wisdom, riches and strength, virtue, piety, welfare, and happiness of a people seem to be the ideals which he would set up, and which embody the ultimate results of the education which he would foster. The formation of manners, the training of youth in the principles of rectitude, the giving instruction in dead languages and living, in particular in the mother tongue, and in all useful branches of liberal arts and sciences, represent the methods and means for securing the comprehensive and final purposes. In this constitution is no mention of either religion or the church or the ministry. The foundation is human. It was the largest human foundation which was laid for any college of America up to the middle of the eighteenth century.

Seven years later, in 1756, were published the more formal conditions and purposes. This statement is probably the writing of Dr. William Smith, the first provost. But in its large humanity it is the elaboration of the statement made seven years before by Franklin and his associates. It embodies the ideals which in the clearer light of a fuller understanding it is now known Franklin held. Throughout the statement, too, is heard the note of the modern spirit. The purpose is plainly to enrich and to enlarge the mind, and also to give to it efficiency. It is said that:

"Life itself being too short to obtain a perfect acquaintance with the whole circle of the *Sciences*, nothing has ever been proposed by any plan of *University Education*, but to lay such a general foundation in all the branches of literature, as may enable youth to perfect themselves in those particular parts, to which their business or genius, may afterwards lead them. And scarce anything has more obstructed the advancement of sound learning, than a vain imagination, that a few years, spent at college, can render youth such *absolute Masters of Science*, as to absolve them from all future study.

"As far as our influence extends, we would wish to propagate a contrary doctrine; and tho' we flatter ourselves that, by a due execution of the foregoing plan, we shall enrich our country with many *Minds* that are liberally accomplished, and send out none that may justly be denominated barren or unimproved; yet we hope that the youth committed to our tuition, will neither at college, nor afterwards, rest satisfied

with such a general knowledge, as is to be acquired from the public lectures and exercises. We rather trust that those whose taste is once formed for the acquisition of *solid Wisdom,* will think it their duty and most rational satisfaction, to accomplish themselves still farther, by manly perseverance in private study and meditation." [1]

The particular means which are recommended for the securing of the high, broad, and special purposes so well indicated, represent the Latin and Greek authors, mathematics, including trigonometry, conic sections, and fluxions, logic, metaphysics, ethics and rhetoric. Among the sciences are astronomy, botany (Natural History of vegetables), zoölogy (Natural History of animals), and physics. The course of study is the most complete ever presented in an American college up to this time. The French language is also offered for each of the years. Throughout this scheme much attention is paid to both correct writing and correct speaking. It is said that as a variety of languages and of dialects are spoken by this mixture of people from almost all corners of the world, the English language might be lost without proper care in its use. Among the books named as texts is the Holy Bible, " to be read daily from the beginning, to supply the deficiencies of the whole." [2] Of this Book it is further said " when human Science has done its utmost, and when we have thought the youth worthy of the honors of the Seminary, yet still we must recommend them to the *Scriptures of God,* in order to complete their Wisdom, to regulate their conduct thro' life, and guide them to happiness forever." [3]

The philosophy underlying this course of study is rational. It is said:

"In the disposition of the parts of this Scheme, a principal regard has been paid to the connexion and subserviency of the *Sciences,* as well as to the gradual openings of young minds. Those parts are placed first, which are suited to strengthen the inventive Faculties, and are *instru-*

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[1] Montgomery's "A History of the University of Pennsylvania," 1749–70, p. 240.

[2] Ibid., p. 239.

[3] Ibid., pp. 240–1.

mental to what follows. Those are placed last which require riper judgment, and are more immediately connected with the main business of life.

"In the meantime, it is proposed that they shall never drop their acquaintance with the classic sages. They are every day called to converse with some one of the ancients, who, at the same time that he charms with all the beauties of language, is generally illustrating that particular branch of philosophy or science, to which the other hours of the day are devoted. Thus, by continually drawing something from the most admired masters of Sentiment and expression, the taste of youth will be gradually formed, to just *Criticism* and masterly *Composition.*" [1]

The time allowed for the execution of this plan is three years. It is suggested that some may think three years are too scanty. The author says:

"We would not be tenacious of our opinion; but, from an attentive consideration of the business proposed for each term, we are inclined to think the time will be sufficient for a middling genius, with ordinary application. And where both genius and application are wanting, we conceive no time will be found sufficient. Experience, however, being the best guide in matters of this kind, we only propose that a fair trial of three years may be made, before anything farther is determined upon a subject of such high concern." [2]

Sports or play are not forgotten in this eighteenth-century educational scheme. At the end of every term, it is said, there is some time allowed for recreation, or bringing up slower geniuses!

The comparison of this first course of study, in what some have said should have been known as the University of Franklin, with the first course of study in Princeton is impressive. The Freshman class at Princeton was studying Cicero and the Hebrew Grammar, Xenophon, Geography, and Astronomy. The Sophomore class was studying the ancient classics together with rhetoric, mathematics, physics, and astronomy. In the two remaining years the classics were continued, and courses in ethics, mathematics, natural sciences, were offered. At the same

[1] Montgomery's "A History of the University of Pennsylvania," p. 241.
[2] Idem.

time Columbia College was seeking, as was announced by its first president in an advertisement made in 1754:

"To instruct and perfect the Youth in the Learned Languages, and in the Arts of *reasoning* exactly, of *writing* correctly, and *speaking* eloquently; and in the Arts of *numbering* and *measuring*; of *Surveying* and *Navigation*, of *Geography* and *History*, of *Husbandry*, *Commerce* and *Government*, and in the Knowledge of *all Nature* in the *Heavens* above us, and in the *Air*, *Water* and *Earth* around us, and the various kinds of *Meteors*, *Stones*, *Mines* and *Minerals*, *Plants* and *Animals*, and of every Thing *useful* for the Comfort, the Convenience and Elegance of Life, in the chief *Manufactures* relating to any of these Things: And, finally, to lead them from the Study of Nature to the Knowledge of themselves, and of the God of Nature, and their Duty to him, themselves, and one another, and every Thing that can contribute to their true Happiness, both here and hereafter." [1]

The human and humanistic character of the foundation laid through Franklin in Philadelphia is also made evident by the purposes indicated in the advertisement of the first president of Columbia, who says:

"The chief Thing that is aimed at in this College is, to teach and engage the Children to *know God in Jesus Christ*, and to love and serve him, in all *Sobriety*, *Godliness*, and *Righteousness* of Life, with a *perfect Heart, and a willing Mind*; and to train them up in all virtuous Habits, and all such useful Knowledge as may render them creditable to their Families and Friends, Ornaments to their Country and useful to the public Weal in their Generations."

It is declared that "it is to be understood that as to Religion, there is no Intention to impose on the Scholars, the peculiar Tenets of any particular Sect of Christians; but to inculcate upon their tender Minds, the great Principles of Christianity and Morality, in which true Christians of each Denomination are generally agreed. And as to the daily Worship in the College Morning and Evening, it is proposed that it should, ordinarily, consist of such a Collection of Lessons, Prayers and Praises of the Liturgy of the Church, as are, for the most Part, taken out of the Holy Scriptures, and such as are agreed on by the Trustees, to be in the best Manner expressive of our common Christianity; and, as to any peculiar Tenets, everyone is left to judge freely for himself, and to be required to attend

[1] "Universities and Their Sons," vol. i, p. 582.

constantly at such Places of Worship, on the Lord's Day, as their Parents or Guardians shall think fit to order or permit." [1]

The purpose, however, of the first president of the New York College, although apparently more narrow than the purpose intimated in the Philadelphia foundation, might be interpreted by some as being coincident and identical. For Dr. Smith includes the Bible as the chief book among the texts to be studied. The purpose of both foundations was to train the student into the largest, richest, and noblest manhood. Religion, whether founded upon a book or a personality, was employed by each as a method and means for securing this ultimate result.

The result embodied in the opening of King's College represents a long historic process. Although George II. gave a charter to King's College for the instruction and education of youth in the learned languages, and in the liberal arts and sciences, in 1754, yet the suggestion of the intention to found a college appears as early as the second year of the eighteenth century.

At that time land was deeded to Trinity Church for the use of the college that was to be founded. In 1746 the General Assembly of New York passed an act authorizing a lottery for the advancement of learning and for the founding of a college. Similar laws followed. As a result, in the year 1751 the Legislature paid over to the Trustees of the college between three thousand and four thousand pounds for the erection and use of the college. To this legal body of Trustees Trinity Church also deeded the Queen's farm, of about thirty-two acres, which it had received about a half century earlier. In 1753 the General Assembly authorized the Colonial Treasurer to pay to the Trustees for each of the following seven years five hundred pounds, to be used in the payment of salaries.

King's College, in its first Board of Trustees, was constituted as a civil institution. Among the Trustees were the counselor of the colony, the Speaker of the General Assembly, the judges of the Supreme Court, the Mayor of the city of New York, and the treasurer of the colony; only three other members of the Board are chosen simply upon per-

[1] "Universities and Their Sons," vol. i, p. 582.

sonal grounds. But the fact that about two-thirds of the members were communicants of the Church of England was sufficient reason, despite their choice upon official grounds, to awaken violent opposition on the part of members of other churches, especially of the Presbyterian. The chief or only connection, however, of the college with the Church of England lay in the fact that the president of the college should be a communicant of that Church, and that the morning and evening service of the college should be performed out of the liturgy of the Church. This condition was exacted by Trinity Church in consideration of the conveyance of land now lying in the vicinity of Barclay and Murray streets. It is intimated that the purpose of laying down such a condition was not to keep the college in a special association with a single church, but to prevent it from having no religious character at all.

The College of New Jersey was more akin to Yale and to King's in its happiness in its first presidents than to Harvard. Dickinson, Burr, and Edwards, measured by the standards of their own time, and one of them at least measured by the standards of any time, were great men. Dickinson was the most eminent minister of the Presbyterian Church of his era. At the age of twenty-one he became the pastor of a leading Presbyterian church, and soon attained a rank as minister equivalent to the rank of the individual church which he served. Having some acquaintance with medicine and with law, he served as an advisor to individuals and to the community in other than clerical relations. He wrote several volumes on theological and ecclesiastical subjects. Active in all relationships, his activity was recognized as constantly wise and beneficent. In personal character he was large of mind and large of heart. Like Samuel Johnson, he was serene and calm. Although he has been compared to Edwards as a defender of Calvinism, he yet held all his abilities in a fitting unity of large character. The first students of the College he received into his own house in May, 1747. But within six months he died.

Aaron Burr followed Dickinson in the presidency. Aaron Burr was among the youngest of all the college presidents of the eighteenth century, always excepting Manning, the first presi-

dent of the College in Rhode Island. Born in 1716, he took his first degree at Yale in 1735, and three years after was ordained pastor in Newark. In 1747, at the age of thirty-one, he became president. His success as president was immediate and conspicuous. He established the curriculum and made the laws. He was for a decade the College. But at the age of forty-one he, too, died. Gentleness and courtesy, frankness as well as enthusiasm, breadth and efficiency, characterized him.

The successor of Aaron Burr was Jonathan Edwards. Jonathan Edwards was the father-in-law of Aaron Burr the Princeton president, and the grandfather of Aaron Burr the slayer of Hamilton. What Edwards would have been as a college president can only be conjectured. His administration was cut short by his death within a few weeks of his accession; but the acceptance of the office by Edwards gave luster to the name of the college. In the greatest philosopher of the New World one college adds to its celebrity by enrolling him as its most distinguished graduate, and another by enrolling him as its most distinguished president.

In both the College of New Jersey and King's of New York emerges in the first years of their establishment the need of adequate buildings. The first students at Princeton were essentially private students of the first two presidents. Instruction was given at Elizabethtown in 1746–47, and at Newark for almost a decade. But the location of the college at Princeton, in 1756, determined the trustees to proceed with the erection of a college hall and a president's house. The College Hall was the largest stone building erected in America before the Revolution. Its length was a hundred and seventy feet and width fifty-four. At the center were projections in both the front and the rear. It still stands as Nassau Hall, symbol of the regard that the people of New Jersey felt for William III.—and a monument to the thoroughness of the architectural construction of the middle of the eighteenth century. The building was designed to serve all college purposes.

The first building erected by the College of New York was also large and impressive. It was planned to be built on three sides of a quadrangle facing the Hudson River. It was said

to be the most beautifully situated of any college building in the world,[1] a remark which has been not infrequently made regarding many college structures, but one which is still more true of the buildings of Columbia than of most institutions.

The first two college buildings at Princeton and in New York represent the same communistic life which was established at Harvard and at Yale. The name college had been applied to both the legal organization or corporation of the institution and also to the academic structure. In the common life has been found not only education, but also fun. The life of the students often proves that college laws were made only to promote the fun of breaking them. The rules at King's were somewhat less definite and strict than obtained in the early generations at Yale and at Harvard. They were sufficiently strict to prove to be temptations to mirth-loving Sophomores.

Certain charms of the undergraduate life are well set forth in the following illustrations:

S. "reprimanded publicly at a visitation for having come thro' a Hole in the College fence, at 12 o'clock at Night." S. "suspended by the President for coming over the College fence at ½ past 11 o'clock last Night." V., D., and N. "who had gone over the College fence the preceding Tuesday between the Hours of 3 and 4 P.M., to bathe . . . after being reprimanded, were ordered by the Committee to be confined to College untill the next Saturday Evening—each of them was also directed to translate into Latin 4 pages of Dr. Chandler's Charity Sermon, besides attending the usual Collegiate exercises." D. "to be represented to the Committee, ye next visitation, for refusing to open his Door when repeatedly called upon by the President (being sent for also from home, where he had not been for some days), and causing four Doors to be broke open before he could be laid hold of—N. B. found, at last, in the Room opposite to his own, where he had hid himself, having opened the Door with a false key, and hid himself in one of the studies." "Students going without their Caps and Gowns to be presented to the next Board of Governors." "Ordered that B—— and D——, for being deficient each in two exercises, and also for frequently absenting themselves from Recitations, be confined within the College walls from next Monday till the Friday following; and also, besides their usual academical exercises, translate No. 316 of

[1] "Universities and Their Sons," vol. i, p. 589.

the *Spectator* into Latin, and get by Heart 40 lines from the Beginning of Book 1, Sat. 1 of Horace. In case of Failure or Neglect in any of these Particulars to be immediately presented to the Board of Governors for Degradation or Expulsion." D., "for stealing 8 sheets of Paper and a Penknife, was reprimanded in the College Hall before all the students, and after having his Gown stripped off by the Porter, he was ordered to kneel down and read a paper containing an Acknowledgment of his Crime, expressing much sorrow for it, and promising Amendment for the future— He was then forbidden to wear his Cap or Gown for one Week." [1]

The identity of interests of the colleges of the central colonies at the middle of the eighteenth century, though existing under different conditions, is further seen in a petition that was made in common by Dr. William Smith, of the University of Pennsylvania, and by James Jay, representative of the College in New York, to King George III. In 1762 Dr. James Jay, who was going to England, offered to solicit subscriptions for the college in New York. On reaching England he found that the provost of the University of Pennsylvania was also engaged in gathering funds for his institution. The Archbishop of Canterbury and others were friendly to both colleges. The effort to secure separate subscriptions, it was thought, might prove disadvantageous to each endeavor. Therefore permission was obtained from the sovereign authorizing the collecting of funds. In the formal permission it is said that the purpose of the institutions is:

"Not so much to aim at any high Improvement in *Knowledge*, as to guard against total Ignorance; to instil into the Minds of Youth just Principles of Religion, Loyalty and a love of our excellent Constitution; to instruct them in such Branches of Knowledge and useful Arts as are necessary to Trade, Agriculture, and a due Improvement of Our Valuable Colonies; and to assist in raising up a Succession of faithful Instructors, to be sent forth not only among our Subjects there, but also among the Indians in alliance with us." [2]

One large purpose, therefore, was held by each college, and this purpose was to be reached by a similarity of method.

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[1] "Universities and Their Sons," vol. i, pp. 603, 604.

[2] Ibid., p. 593.

Eight years earlier the College of New Jersey had also gone abroad for support. It went, however, not to the sovereign, but to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. In the petition made by the Synod of New York, in 1753, it is declared that in the Colonies of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, are a great number of Presbyterian congregations which are in need of pastors. It is also declared that there are many people who lack only a minister in order to form themselves into churches. In the scarcity of ministers, the petitioners are unable to fill these urgent needs. It is affirmed that the churches must continue to be shepherdless, and the children of God hungry and unfed, and that the rising age will grow up in a state little better than that of heathenism unless ministers are supplied. It is further intimated that it is difficult, sometimes impossible, to send young men two or five hundred miles to the colleges of New England. It is therefore only to the College of New Jersey that one can look for remedy:

"It is *that* your petitioners look for the increase of their numbers; it is on *that* the Presbyterian churches through the six colonies above mentioned principally depend for a supply of accomplished ministers; from *that* has been obtained considerable relief already, notwithstanding the many disadvantages that unavoidably attend it in its present infant state; and from *that* may be expected a sufficient supply when brought to maturity." [1]

The prayer which is offered for aid is most urgent.

"The young daughter of the Church of Scotland, helpless and exposed in this foreign land, cries to her tender and powerful mother for relief. The cries of ministers oppressed with labours, and of congregations famishing for want of the sincere milk of the word, implore assistance. And were the poor Indian savages sensible of their own case they would join in the cry, and beg for more missionaries to be sent to propagate the religion of Jesus among them." [1]

The general educational condition for the larger part of the eighteenth century was embodied in important respects in the character and work of Samuel Johnson. For in him were

[1] Maclean's "History of the College of New Jersey," vol. i, p. 151.

united several significant elements. A graduate of Yale in 1714, he served as tutor for several years. Born into the Puritan faith, he early found himself turning from the more barren parts of its creed. He was one of that little company, of which President Cutler was the most conspicuous member, who sought ordination at the hands of an English bishop. Soon after his return to America he became, and continued to be for more than three decades, the rector of the Episcopal church in Stratford. Throughout this period he was one of the leaders of his church in the colonies. At the time of Bishop Berkeley's sojourn in Newport he came into intimate relationship with him—a relationship which continued in spirit throughout their lives. In the fifth decade he was asked by Benjamin Franklin to become the head of the new institution in Philadelphia. The invitation he declined. But a short time after he did accept the presidency of the new college in New York. Samuel Johnson represented the scholastic rather than the executive type of the president. Throughout his life, both in the ministry and in the presidency, he wrote much. In philosophy he was a follower of his friend Bishop Berkeley. One of his volumes was dedicated to Berkeley and was printed by Benjamin Franklin. He was a conspicuous figure in educational and clerical life for more than a half century, and he forever unites in one career an official relation to Yale College, and a service as the first president of what is now known as Columbia, together with an opportunity to become the first president of the University of Pennsylvania.

In character Samuel Johnson seems to have embodied the Aristotelian principle of the golden mean. His character was symmetrical. The manly and æsthetic elements of his nature were quite as superior as his intellectual. He had firmness without obstinacy, aggressiveness without audacity; he united respect for others with a proper regard for his own character and judgment. Patience without dilatoriness, courage without any hint of boldness, contributed to the worth and success of his long career. He embodied a phrase which Gladstone[1] once applied

[1] Morley's "Life of Gladstone," vol. ii, p. 640.

to the mind of the first Lord Aberdeen: "chartered tranquillity." His worth lay rather in the combination of elements and abilities than in the greatness of any one part. In the New World and age he showed a rare appreciation of the refinements of life and gentleness of manners. Seven years after his death, which occurred in 1772, President Stiles wrote of him as follows: "Dr. Johnson was an excellent Classical Scholar—he had few equals in *Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.* He was the Gentleman and the Scholar and of amiable manners. Not of the deepest penetration and Judgment, but of multiform and extensive Reading. He did not figure greatly as a president, but it does not seem to have been for want of Learning. He was good at the Sciences, easy and communicative, was eminent in Moral Philosophy."[1] It may be added that President Stiles suggests that Dr. Cutler and Dr. Johnson were "men of sobriety and of good morals." Such testimony, in view of the difference in ecclesiastical relationships of Dr. Cutler and of Dr. Johnson and those of Dr. Stiles, may be regarded as strong commendation.

A comparison between the colleges of the New World and of old England of the eighteenth century is not a comparison, it is a contrast. This contrast, it may as well be said at once, is to the advantage of the new institutions of the New World. The eighteenth century has been compared to a valley between the mountains of the seventeenth and of the nineteenth century. Never had the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge sunk to a lower level.

The commonplace character of the age was reflected in the life of the universities. The colleges were without discipline, as their members were without scholarship. Idleness prevailed. Tutors offered few or no lectures, and students were not students. There were scholars, but scholarship was not a prevailing force. The lofty traditions of Oxford and Cambridge had fallen. The scholastic and moral unfaithfulness of the times was universally, as it was painfully, common. Routh, the president of Magdalen, born in 1755 and dying in 1854, was one of the greatest men for many years at Oxford. When he was at

[1] Dexter's "Yale Biographies and Annals," vol. i, p. 126.

the age of ninety Faber, " the chief college officer in the matter of discipline, called upon him one morning, evidently preparing to break some sad news. ' Stop, I know what you're going to tell me,' he said. ' One of the Fellows has died drunk in the night.' ' It is indeed so,' said Faber. But before he could give the name the President exclaimed, ' Stay, let me guess.' He guessed right. ' There, you see I knew the men well. He's just the sort of fellow to die drunk.' "[1]

Numbers are no certain test of the worth of an academic institution, but they are a mark of either prosperity or of decline. In the middle of the eighteenth century the number of students at the University of Cambridge had fallen to the lowest point which they had touched since the Civil War. Between 1750 and 1755 the number of B.A. degrees granted in one year was only once as large as one hundred. In 1676 the number of B.A. degrees granted for Jesus College was sixty-nine; in 1702 and 1703 it was sixty-seven; in 1747 and 1748 it was only fourteen.

The scholarship and morals of the men were apparently quite as mean as the numbers were small. The greatest man of the century, measured by the larger standards, was Adam Smith. Adam Smith has left on record his opinion of Oxford. In a chapter of his great book, dealing with the expense of educational institutions, he says: " The endowments of schools and colleges have necessarily diminished more or less the necessity of application in the teachers. Their subsistence, so far as it arises from their salaries, is evidently derived from a fund altogether independent of their success and reputation in their particular professions. . . ." Speaking of the leniency and laxity of the methods and of the overindulgence and indifference of the teachers of his time, he says that " in the University of Oxford, the greater part of the public professors have, for these many years, given up altogether even the pretense of teaching. . . ."

" Whatever forces a certain number of students to any college or university, independent of the merit or reputation of the teachers, tends more or less to diminish the necessity of that merit or reputation. . . .

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[1] Mozley's "Reminiscences," vol. i, p. 320.

"The discipline of colleges and universities is in general contrived, not for the benefit of the students, but for the interest, or, more properly speaking, for the ease of the masters. Its object is, in all cases, to maintain the authority of the master, and, whether he neglects or performs his duty, to oblige the students in all cases to behave to him as if he performed it with the greatest diligence and ability. It seems to presume perfect wisdom and virtue in the one order, and the greatest weakness and folly in the other. Where the masters, however, really perform their duty, there are no examples, I believe, that the greater part of the students ever neglect theirs. No discipline is ever requisite to force attendance upon lectures which are really worth the attending, as is well known wherever any such lectures are given. . . . Such is the generosity of the greater part of young men, that, so far from being disposed to neglect or despise the instructions of their master, provided he shows some serious intention of being of use to them, they are generally inclined to pardon a great deal of incorrectness in the performance of his duty, and sometimes even to conceal from the public a good deal of gross negligence."[1]

The opinion of Edward Gibbon is more familiar, and, if possible, more impressive: "To the University of Oxford I acknowledge no obligation; and she will as cheerfully renounce me for a son, as I am willing to disclaim her for a mother. I spent fourteen months at Magdalen College; they proved the fourteen months the most idle and unprofitable of my whole life. The reader will pronounce between the school and the scholar; but I cannot affect to believe that Nature had disqualified me for all literary pursuits. The specious and ready excuse of my tender age, imperfect preparation, and hasty departure may doubtless be alleged; nor do I wish to defraud such excuses of their proper weight. Yet in my sixteenth year I was not devoid of capacity or application: even my childish reading had displayed an early though blind propensity for books; and the shallow flood might have been taught to flow in a deep channel and a clear stream. In the discipline of a well-constituted

[1] Adam Smith's "The Wealth of Nations," Book V, chapter i, art. 2.

academy, under the guidance of skillful and vigilant professors, I should gradually have risen from translations to originals, from the Latin to the Greek classics, from dead languages to living science: my hours would have been occupied by useful and agreeable studies, the wanderings of fancy would have been restrained, and I should have escaped the temptations of idleness, which finally precipitated my departure from Oxford. . . . The schools of Oxford and Cambridge were founded in a dark age of false and barbarous science; and they are still tainted with the vices of their origin. . . . During the first weeks I constantly attended these lessons in my tutor's room; but as they appeared equally devoid of profit and pleasure, I was once tempted to try the experiment of a formal apology. The apology was accepted with a smile. I repeated the offense with less ceremony; the excuse was admitted with the same indulgence: the slightest motive of laziness or indisposition, the most trifling avocation at home or abroad, was allowed as a worthy impediment; nor did my tutor appear conscious of my absence or neglect. Had the hour of lecture been constantly filled, a single hour was a small portion of my academic leisure. No plan of study was recommended for my use; no exercises were prescribed for his inspection; and at the most precious season of youth whole days and weeks were suffered to elapse without labor or amusement, without advice or account." [1]

The historian of the Roman Empire may not be quite a fair interpreter of undergraduate conditions at Oxford, but, when every abatement has been made, it is clear that Magdalen College, one of the most conspicuous of the colleges at Oxford, was not an agency of either scholarship or of education.

The relation of the Church of England and of Oxford and Cambridge has always been a close relation. Both as cause and effect, the colleges have prospered with the prosperity of the Church, and the colleges have suffered in times of ecclesiastical depression. This intimacy of relationship was at once commended and condemned in the age of Elizabeth. It was then

[1] "Autobiography of Edward Gibbon," edited by Howells, p. 79 *et seq.*

said that the universities were becoming too largely seminaries for the training of the clergy. In the eighteenth century the Church of England sank to its lowest level. Though there were great scholars among her ministers, yet the secularizing policy of the State was fatal to religious efficiency. The University suffered with the Church. Thackeray somewhere remarks that the theologian in liquor is not a respectable object. The college professor is hardly more respectable. The wine cup for the bishop and for the master was a greater stimulus than were the flames which burned upon the altar of either piety or scholarship.

In the Universities the whole century was, with a few notable exceptions, such as John Henderson of Pembroke, an age of intellectual stagnation. The influences which should have ruled in the University did not rule, and the influences which should not have ruled did control. Lord Chesterfield said that he would not send his son to Oxford for he had been there himself. Never had politics influenced academic appointments and preferences with greater power or more lamentable disaster. Never was teaching more indifferent, academic government more sluggish, or collegiate conditions more deadening. Never were fellowships in their appointments more completely dominated by personal prejudice, or, in the person of their incumbents, more untrained in efficiency and intelligence. Never were undergraduates more careless of great aims or of academic discipline, more submissive to the solicitations of appetite, or less obedient to academic authority. Never, too, was academic authority less worthy of being obeyed.

In the face of such English conditions the colleges of the New World in the eighteenth century exhibited not the cardinal graces of good manners but the cardinal virtues of temperance and of hard work. They had no history. They were without prestige. Their revenues were small. Their scholarly tests and forces were few and slight. But they yet offered to humanity such founders as Franklin and Samuel Johnson, and they trained scholars and thinkers, of whom Jonathan Edwards was one. They educated for American life clergymen who worthily led the church; and they contributed citizens to the Commonwealth who were soon to create a new world power.

CHAPTER V

LATER PREREVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENTS

The foundation of most colleges is the result of the operation of local causes. Harvard is primarily the child of Boston, Columbia of New York, Pennsylvania of Philadelphia. But the college in Rhode Island represents the coöperation of causes extending from Massachusetts to South Carolina. Like the University of Chicago in the last decades of the nineteenth century, it sprang from the devotion of members to a Church having organizations in every State; in its origin local conditions had little or no influence.

The decades following "The Great Awakening" were periods of growth of the Baptist Church in both New England and the central colonies. In 1740 in Massachusetts were six Baptist churches, in Rhode Island eleven, in Connecticut four. In 1768 the number in Massachusetts had increased to thirty, in Rhode Island to thirty-six, in Connecticut to twelve. The Philadelphia Association of churches, having representatives in no less than six States, had come in 1762 to number thirty organizations. The beginnings of a more rapid growth were already in evidence. The Church was not, like the Congregational, a New England institution, nor, like the Dutch Reformed, one of New York. If it failed in any one Commonwealth to be the standing order, it yet was respected in each. It was therefore natural that the desire to establish a college for the training of its ministry should increase as the opportunities for the work of the ministry enlarged. These churches and their ministry found themselves somewhat at variance with other ecclesiastical organizations. They believed in the separation of the State and the Church. In Massachusetts the State and the Church were one. They held, with Edwards, that only those who had met with a change of

heart should become members of the Church. They followed Roger Williams in accepting that freer teaching of liberty of conscience which was promoted in certain decades in the Puritan colonies. They clung to their own interpretation of the form of baptism, and of the rite of the Lord's Supper. In Massachusetts and Connecticut their resistance to certain ecclesiastical laws was met with fines, and in Virginia with imprisonment.

In the year 1762 the Baptist Association of Philadelphia took definite and formal action looking to the establishment of a college. Behind this result lay much observation, reflection, discussion. The place chosen was Rhode Island. Some one of the southern colonies was supposed by many to be a more fit place for laying such a foundation. South of the James no college existed. But the prevalence of influences favorable to the Baptist Church in the Colony of Roger Williams promoted its establishment there. The establishment of a college in Rhode Island did not necessitate the reconciliation of different denominations of the Church as did the foundation of King's. It did not embody any appeal to the State for special donations or for annual grants, as was the case in Yale and Harvard. Its constituency, if widely scattered, was yet devoted and single-minded. Its field of support was, if large, clearly marked.

Out of debate less in amount and less virulent than obtained in the granting of not a few charters, a charter was granted to the college in Rhode Island. Its simple reading proves its liberality. It represents human and humanistic purposes. It declares that "institutions for liberal education are highly beneficial to society, by forming the rising generation to virtue, knowledge, and useful literature; and thus preserving in the community a succession of men duly qualified for discharging the offices of life with usefulness and reputation."[1] It also prohibits the use of any religious tests, and expressly asserts that the members shall ever enjoy free, full, absolute, and uninterrupted liberty of conscience. It opens its doors with equal freedom to all denominations of Protestants, and affirms that sectarian differences of opinion shall not form any

[1] Guild's "History of Brown University," p. 132.

part of the public and classical instruction.[1] But while the charter is thus broad, the association of the College with the Baptist Church is affirmed and promoted. Of thirty-six members of the Board of Trust, twenty-two are to be Baptists, five Friends, four Congregationalists, and five Episcopalians. Of the Board of Fellows of twelve members, eight are to be Baptists, and the other four may be members of any denomination. It is declared expressly that the President shall be a member of the Baptist Church, as was the president of King's to be a member of the Church of England.

Although it has been declared that one motive for the foundation of a college in Rhode Island was to secure an institution more free from denominational restrictions and sectarian tests than obtained in the case of the five colleges already established, yet the control of the College in Rhode Island by members of the Baptist Church was made full and definite. The association of the College with the Baptist Church was made more intimate than the College of New Jersey with the Presbyterian. But without doubt the government of the College, in respect to students of other than Baptist beliefs, was more free than obtained in the case of Yale, in respect to students of Episcopal faith.

The time of the laying of the foundation was the year of 1762. It was the year of the graduation at Princeton of the first president of the new college. Manning's residence at Princeton covered the last years of the presidency of Davis and the first of the term of Finley. Among his fellow-students were David Caldwell, who, on account of old age, declined an offer of the presidency of the University of North Carolina; Edwards, who became president of Union College; Henderson, Sergant, and Patterson, who became members of the Continental Congress, and Reeves, founder of the first Law School at Litchfield, and Chief Justice of Connecticut. Three years later, at the age of twenty-five, Manning was formally chosen president. In addition to the office of president, he was also made professor of languages and of other subjects. The confidence of the trustees in

[1] Guild's "History of Brown University," pp. 137–138.

his character was hardly inferior to their respect for what they thought to be his encyclopædic learning. Seldom has the confidence of a body of trustees been more rightly bestowed. The early maturity of Manning was no sign of a premature decline of power. He seems to have united the dexterity of a modern athlete with gracefulness of manner and graciousness of spirit. His graciousness was held in proper restraint by good sense. Every acquaintance was a friend, and every cause promotive of the public welfare found in him a fitting supporter. He was for a short time a member of the Congress of Confederation, being, with Witherspoon and, in his time, with Seelye of Amherst, among the few presidents who have taken active and formal part in national legislation. For more than a quarter of a century he served as president, his term being the longest of the first presidents of any institution founded before the Revolution, with the exception of James Blair of William and Mary.

The pecuniary foundation of the College was laid in the offerings of Baptists of both old England and the new. The College in Rhode Island, like every other, turned to what was still called "home" for endowment. In 1767 and 1768 the Rev. Morgan Edwards—born in Wales, ordained in Ireland, serving as pastor in England, coming to Pennsylvania—who had been efficient in stirring up the Philadelphia churches in behalf of education, was sent abroad to secure subscriptions for the College. He bore with himself a letter from the trustees, addressed to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, asking for assistance and encouragement. The letter contained no intimations, however, of either Presbyterian or Baptist doctrines; it based its appeal for aid upon the "great utility of a good education." But Mr. Edwards did not see fit to go north of the Tweed; his work of solicitation was confined to Ireland and to England. In Ireland about two hundred, and in England no less than three hundred, subscriptions were secured. The amounts were usually small, seldom exceeding ten pounds, and in some cases being less than a pound. Among the Irish towns he visited were Cork, Dublin, Belfast, Waterford, Antrim, Coleraine, Londonderry, and Ormond; and in England—besides London—Bristol, Exeter, Taunton, Rye, and Oxford. The

whole amount secured was almost nine hundred pounds, which was put aside as a foundation for the salary of the president. His experience in gathering up this relatively small sum of money, in relation to large amounts that were at the same time being collected by the representatives of Dartmouth College, he relates in a letter to President Manning:

" If I were to stay in London ever so long I believe I should get money, but it comes so slowly and by such small sums that I cannot spare the time. However, I may depend on the friendship of two or three when I leave the kingdom, who have promised to solicit for us, and do not doubt but they will do more than I shall be able to accomplish, as they may watch convenient seasons. There have been no less than six cases of charity pushed about town this winter, viz.: two from Germany, two from the country of England, and two from America. The unwearied beneficence of the city of London is amazing.

" Your newspapers, and letters from your government, published in other papers, have hurt me much. You boast of the many yards of cloth you manufacture, etc. This raises the indignation of the merchants and manufacturers. I have been not only denied by hundreds, but also abused on that score. My patience, my feet, my assurance, are much impaired. I took a cold in November which stuck to me all winter, owing to my trampoosing the streets in all weathers." [1]

Soon after Edwards brought his offerings of foreign money, it was determined to seek further aid in the south. South Carolina and Georgia were the fields selected. Hezekiah Smith, a classmate of Manning at Princeton, was chosen agent. In the two hundred and fifty days which Smith spent in the south he secured an equal number of subscriptions, which aggregated about twenty-five hundred dollars. The list of names of subscribers residing in Charleston includes Gadsden, Laurens, and members of other historic families. The comments of Mr. Smith, as still recorded in his formal papers, upon the names of those whom he hoped to make benefactors, are significant. " No money," " doubtful," " probable," " call again," " out

[1] Guild's "History of Brown University," p. 153.

of town," "go thy way for this time." They illustrate the truth that the heart of both the solicitor and the solicited has not changed in the course of a century.

The financial history of the College for its first half century and more is a very simple one. In the five years from 1766 to 1771 subscriptions were made in an amount slightly in excess of a thousand dollars. The money obtained in England and Ireland, in South Carolina and Georgia, aggregated seven thousand dollars. Soon after, for the erection of college buildings, was secured a sum slightly less than ten thousand dollars. During the remainder of the century the whole amount received was less than five thousand dollars, and in the first quarter of the nineteenth century less than half this sum was added. Therefore, from the foundation of the College up to the year 1825 less than twenty-five thousand dollars were given for the endowment or the support of the college in Rhode Island.

The growth of the College in students was not as slow as its progress in endowment. In 1765 there was but one student; in the year following, six; in 1767, ten; in 1770, twenty-one; in 1773, thirty-five, and in 1775, forty-one. That the college was succeeding in its purpose of serving the people in every Colony is evident. Among the seven members of the class which took their degrees at the first Commencement in 1769 were representatives of no less than five Colonies—Pennsylvania, Connecticut, New Jersey, as well as Massachusetts and Rhode Island. The service which these men in subsequent life rendered the new nation is significant and impressive. Rogers, the first student, became the pastor of the First Baptist Church at Philadelphia and a professor in the University of Pennsylvania. Williams was president of an academy of wide usefulness, which fitted no less than eighty students for his college. Thompson was a chaplain in the American army and pastor of a Baptist Church in Rhode Island. Varnum became a brigadier general in the army, and subsequently a lawyer and writer of distinction.

In the middle decades of the eighteenth century two colleges were founded, each of denominational origin and fateful with diverse results for the fifty years following their origin. One was founded in Rhode Island and bore the name of its

province, whose lawmaking body gave it a charter. The other was founded in New Jersey and bore the name of Queens, in honor of Queen Charlotte, the wife of the king who granted to it a charter. After a few years each of these colleges took on the name of a benefactor which it has since borne—Brown and Rutgers.

It was a century and a half after the first Hollanders came to America that a college was founded by and for them. The Hollanders came, in part at least, as temporary residents, and they came for trade. Their aim and method were commercial. In this condition lies one of the reasons that New Amsterdam and its neighborhood had to wait for almost a hundred and fifty years for the establishment of a college. Those who came to New England as religious or ecclesiastical exiles embodied a type of humanity more akin to academic traditions and ideals than those who came to buy and sell pelts.

But it is to be said that the Hollanders were churchmen; they were adherents of the reform faith. They came like the Puritan and the Pilgrim, bearing a church. About the sarcophagus of William the Silent, at Delft, stand four figures—Liberty, with her scepter and cap; Justice, with her scales; Prudence, with a twig, and Religion, having in one hand a Bible and in the other a miniature church. The spirit of religion which the great staatholder embodied belonged to each of his subjects. But the churches in New Amsterdam and neighboring parts did not grow. Their ministers were few, not sufficient to fill the vacant pastorates.

The ideals of academic culture and of clerical service were, so far as they were announced by the Hollanders who came to the New World, high. The University of Leyden and of Utrecht they held before themselves as embodiments of learning and of piety. At this time, in the middle of the seventeenth century, no universities were more famous than those of Holland. The men, therefore, who came to the New World felt that no institution which they could found in the wilderness could be worthy. They therefore looked back to Holland for education, and for clergymen to fill their pulpits.

But as the generations passed it was found that the adminis-

tration of a church by ecclesiastical bodies three thousand miles away was not feasible. The process was expensive in money, in life, and in administrative efficiency. It is estimated that for certain decades, of all those who went from the New World to the Old World for ecclesiastical ordination, one-fifth lost their lives either by shipwreck or by disease. Endeavors, therefore, for a college in America emerged about the middle of the eighteenth century. The diminishing of ecclesiastical loyalty to the governing powers of Holland and the growth of the sense of duty of training clergymen for service under American conditions were contemporaneous. Therefore, in the seventh decade of the eighteenth century appear distinct and forceful endeavors to establish a college for the Hollanders. The charter given by George III., in 1770, which was in fact the second (no copy of the first having been preserved), indicates the purpose of the foundation. The providing of the churches with an able, learned, and well-qualified ministry is the ultimate purpose. But also a more general purpose is indicated. The promotion of learning for the benefit of the community is included, and the advancement of the Protestant religion of all denominations receives specific mention.

But the college thus launched at New Brunswick did not enter into smooth waters. Its course was stormy, and its advancement slow. The traditional division of the church into two parties, the conservative and the progressive, was accentuated. The strength which should have gone into the promotion of the cause which both parties held dear was wasted in mutual contention. No president was chosen until the year 1786, and when one was chosen he served only four years. For the next score of years the college was without an executive head. From the granting of the charter in 1770, for the period of forty years, to 1810, the college had the service of a president only four, and when one was chosen in 1810 his service was only formal.

The lack of a strong administration in Queen's, as in the case of every college, was the prevailing cause of its slow progress. A strong administration, such as that of Manning in Rhode Island or of Wheelock in Dartmouth, is usually the efficient cause of growth and development. It was not until after long and

frequent periods of executive inefficiency, resulting, in the second decade of the century, in the temporary suspension of the college, that, in the year 1825, the college entered into its modern age of vigorous life.

The influence of Yale as the mother of colleges was felt early. The first president of the college in New York and of the college in New Jersey were sons of Yale, and the founder of Dartmouth, Eleazar Wheelock, was a member of its Class of 1733. The year following Wheelock's graduation he spent in studying for the ministry, a calling to which eight of his class of sixteen members devoted themselves. Wheelock, with a classmate, was the first to share in the income of the foundation of Dean Berkeley. In the year 1735 he became pastor in Lebanon, now Columbia, Conn. His zeal was soon manifest. It found an early opportunity for exercise, both in cause and in result, in " The Great Awakening," of the fifth decade. The energy, enthusiasm, and earnestness of the man were thus early proved. But zeal failed to make up a salary, which, although nominally of one hundred and forty pounds, was in actual purchasing power hardly more than a hundred and forty dollars. He therefore, in his enthusiasm and poverty, determined to take a few students into his family. Among the boys thus received was Samson Occum, a Mohegan Indian, who had become a Christian, and who desired to go as a missionary to his tribe. So happy was the experience with Occum that Wheelock determined to found a school for the training of Indians as missionaries to their tribes. The school was founded, and the school grew. In 1757 it had four students, in 1760 seven, in the next year eleven, and in the next year of 1762 it showed a yet larger increase. In carrying it on Wheelock was aided by Colonel Joshua Moor (Moore), after whom it was called Moor's Indian Charity School. Grants were received from the society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, from the Legislatures of Massachusetts and of Connecticut, and from individuals.

The purpose of Christianizing the Indian was constantly and early held by the people of both sides of the Atlantic. The great missionary societies of Edinburgh and of London

had sent out their representatives in the prosecution of this pious aim. The English society maintained for a long time a Board of Commissioners in Boston, and the Scotch established a Board of Correspondence in New York in 1741. The early colleges and schools, no less than the churches, were eager to civilize the Indian and to make him Christian.

The attempt of Wheelock was more prolonged, more earnest, and of larger relations than obtained in the case of any school which had a close relation to a college, or of any college itself. But it may as well be at once confessed that the attempt of Wheelock was hardly more successful than that made at Harvard College a hundred years before. Woolley, one of the three of his Indian boys who had by 1758 apparently shaken off the Indian nature with his blanket, was sent the next year to complete his education at Princeton College. In his Senior year, in 1762, he was returned in disgrace. Presently he made a confession of drunkenness and various incivilities. He went back to Princeton after a time, but from Princeton he ran away in the last month of 1763. But Woolley, be it said, so far reformed as to establish a school of no less than twenty pupils among his own people. But that scourge consumption, which smote the Harvard Indian of the long name a hundred years before, and which still smites Indian youth confined in school or college, ended his life in less than three years after leaving Princeton.

But in no small degree Wheelock succeeded in carrying out his purpose of preaching the Gospel and of establishing schools among the Indians by educating members of their own tribes. In the year 1765 the attendance at such schools numbered no less than one hundred and twenty-seven. In fact these schools had assumed so important a place that, later in this year, it was determined to make a special appeal in their behalf to the people of Great Britain. Occum, who had entered Wheelock's family twenty or more years before, was, with the Rev. Nathaniel Whitaker, appointed representative. Occum and Whitaker spent about two and a half years in England and Scotland collecting no less than twelve thousand pounds. The exact purpose of these gifts given was "toward building and endowing an

Indian academy for clothing, boarding, maintaining, and educating such Indians as are designed for missionaries and schoolmasters, and for maintaining those who are, or hereafter shall be, employed on this glorious errand.''[1] The purpose thus stated is significant. If on the one side it was declared, as it was declared, that these funds were given to educate Indians and Indians only, on the other side it was affirmed that they could be properly used to educate white men as well.

Hardly had Occum and Whitaker returned when unhappy conditions in the education of the Indian youth emerged. In 1768 occurred the defection of the Oneidas and Mohawks. The number of Indians in the school was reduced. With the reduction of the number of Indians an attempt was made to increase the number of white boys in attendance. Their number soon amounted to a score. The need of the higher education for men who desired to enter missionary work was evident enough. Wheelock supported boys, whom he had fitted for college, at either Princeton or Yale. In 1767 he was maintaining at least six pupils, including his son John, in the New Haven College. For the purpose of lessening expenses, and keeping students under his own immediate charge, in the next year he organized what might be called a collegiate branch of his school. Students, therefore, whom he had supported at Yale or at Princeton were brought back home. No power to confer degrees was possessed, but collegiate studies were pursued. Out of such conditions and through the action of such causes Dartmouth College was founded.

As early as the year 1764 Wheelock had asked for a charter from the Colony of Connecticut. His request had been refused. Two years before Governor Wentworth had offered a tract of land in the western part of New Hampshire for the use of the school. In 1769 the offer was accepted. In the last month of the same year the governor of New Hampshire granted a charter for Dartmouth College, naming it after Lord Dartmouth, who had been most helpful to Occum and Whitaker in making their collections. Wheelock was made president, and

[1] Chase's "History of Dartmouth College," etc., p. 59.

Hanover was selected as the place. Midway between the granting of the charter and the fixing of the site at Hanover Wheelock was dismissed from his pastorate in Lebanon, and in the fall of 1770 he took up his residence in Hanover.

Every college is, for at least a time, the lengthened shadow of one man. The most forceful president who had, up to the beginning of the middle decades of the eighteenth century, appeared, was Eleazar Wheelock. Dartmouth College was for a decade his exterior personality. What may be called the predecessor of Dartmouth College was, for more than a decade, not only his exterior personality, but almost his personality itself; and Dartmouth College, for decades subsequent to his death, may be called the prolongation of his personality or of the influence of his family. Certain elements of his own character have, moreover, for almost a hundred and fifty years been among its characteristics.

The history of Dartmouth College for its first decade is a biography of Eleazar Wheelock, and a biography of Eleazar Wheelock is a history of Dartmouth College. The colleges already established had been placed in or near a metropolis. Cambridge, Williamsburg, New York, Philadelphia, and Princeton were political, social, or commercial centers. Dartmouth College was put down in the wilderness. Those who came to Hanover in 1770 were indeed inspired by a vision seen in the mount. The present picturesque and impressive scenes were then a prophecy. In all the college towns of the Colonies the settlement of the people preceded, by years few as at Cambridge, or by years many as at New Haven and Philadelphia, the foundation of an academic community. But in New Hampshire the foundation of the College and of the village was contemporaneous. The pine logs were alike converted into the home and the dormitory. Wild beasts were as numerous as the domestic animals. The first houses were built of logs, and without stone, glass, or nails. All the rigors and sufferings of an early settlement touched alike the college and the village community. Clothing was scarce, food high, and the money both scarce and depreciated in purchasing power. The first seal of the College, containing the words " Vox clamantis in deserto,"

represents the condition, and the figures of the Indians standing beneath the growing pines help to complete the other elements of the desolate and dreary scene. But be it also said that on the right of the shield is a figure of Religion and on the left a figure of Justice, and that above appears a triangle on which are written in Hebrew the words "God Almighty." Thus was again repeated the Anglo-Saxon story of faith in God and of faith in man as the cause and result of the progressive movement of humanity.[1]

In this condition Wheelock was at once the man of destiny and of service. All functions were performed by him. He was the universal executive—scholastic, civil, educational, domestic. In one of the college buildings was kept a store. Upon him the care of it fell. He was the farmer, the miller, and the lumberman at the sawmill. The commons was a branch of his family kitchen; of it he was steward. He was treasurer, professor of divinity, and pastor of the church. He essentially was the Board of Trustees and the faculty. If any student was to be reprimanded, he was the one to deal the blow; if the gates of the college property were out of order, he was the one to mend them; and if the pigs did damage to the neighbors, he was the one to put the pigs back in their pens, to settle damages, and to pour balm on injured feelings.[2] These and similar works,

[1] "In connection with these and the blackened stumps that long adorned the college green, the following anecdote, of a few years' later date, is handed down to us. It is said that Professor Smith, who was a timid man, and perhaps a little nearsighted, in passing across the green early one foggy morning encountered, as he supposed, a she-bear with her family. Badly scared, he rushed to the chapel, with gown streaming in the wind, shouting, 'A bear and three cubs! A bear and three cubs!' The students, hastening pellmell to the rescue, found but a large black stump and three small ones near it. It happened soon after that the professor, in the course of a rhetorical exercise, called for an example of the gesture of fright, which the student rendered with great effect by striking an attitude and shouting, 'A bear and three cubs! A bear and three cubs!'"—Chase's "History of Dartmouth College," p. 230

[2] Doctr Wheelock: *Sir*, I should take it as a grait Favour if you would put up your small pigs, for they Daly Do me Damage; and as you are knowing to it, I shall take it unkind if you don't take care of them.

From your humble Servt., George Eager.

—Chase's "History of Dartmouth College," p. 545.

with necessary changes of emphasis, were the works of Wheelock until his death in 1779.

The significance of Wheelock's diverse energy becomes more significant in view of the social and civil conditions. The times were troublous. Hanover was in constant danger of attack from the dreaded Indian and his white ally. Settlements were remote. Transportation of person and of goods was slow. The need of life's simpler provisions was pressing and constant. The tempests and anxieties of the community were the expositions of the mind and heart of Wheelock. Although in temper cheerful and in deportment urbane, yet he was not free from quarrelsome discussion with fellow-trustee and with neighbor. For harsh words spoken or written about him, he was not averse to bringing suits for libel. He disputed with the town in reference to academic concerns. At one time he thought of removing the College to the State of New York. John Phillips and Samuel Phillips, uncle and nephew, whose beneficences live in Andover and Exeter, wise and conciliatory men as well as generous, found coöperation with him difficult. But early and late he labored, every day of the week and every week of the year, without other compensation than the satisfaction that belongs to those who lift up their eyes unto the hills and who find their help coming from the Lord.

Wheelock remains the type of the aggressive president under pioneer conditions of the first century and a half of the history of the higher education in America. Courage, persistence, self-reliance, initiative, are the fundamental notes in his character. He trusted himself, he also trusted Providence. His talents were versatile and diverse. Shrewd in business, he commanded attention as a preacher. Having executive power of a high order, he yet was superior to many presidents as a scholar. He possessed the persistence of his contemporary, Clap, at Yale, together with the desire of managing things, characteristic of Increase Mather of Harvard, and his heart was filled with a love for his family, which reminds one of President Johnson of Columbia. He is one of the men of the type who give evidence of possessing capacity for preëminence in any calling which they might have selected.

The life of the students in the first decades of Dartmouth College was determined by its environment. It was a life indeed of the wilderness. The making of proper material conditions interfered with scholastic pursuits. The first elements in a civilization are physical. In the academic, as in the general community, the amount and the quality of food form one of the primary problems. This problem was early presented to Dartmouth men, as it had been to Harvard men more than a hundred years before. The distress caused by the lack of proper provisions spread far beyond the limits of the college community. Governor Wentworth—than whom Dartmouth College or its president had no wiser or no truer friend—wrote, in the summer of 1774, to Dr. Wheelock, saying: "It is therefore with the utmost grief that I perform the strict duty of friendship to both in telling you that it is reported and rapidly gains belief that your provision for the students is extremely bad, their entertainment neither clean, plentiful, nor wholesome, though the price and expense exceeds for comfortabie living; that the youth are thereby unhealthy and debilitated, their constitutions impaired, and their friends and parents highly disgusted. These reports assail me on all sides from those who have and those who have not children under your care. Serious and respectable men in church and State mention it to me with charitable and affectionate concern. I have answered them in your favor and vindication, and suspend credit to their information. But I do, my dear sir, adjure you, by the most sacred cause that has thus been blessed in your hands, to prevent all cause of complaint or triumph to those who envy our College. At this time to disgust the province is to ruin Dartmouth College. If you wish kindly to yourself, to that promising plant, or to me, I entreat you'll enter into an examination of this matter. I wish it may now and ever be groundless."[1]

But the admonition of Governor Wentworth does not seem to have resulted in proper improvement. A little later Governor Wentworth repeats his warning: "Wholesome, sound, and plentiful food must be provided. The very name of putrefied,

[1] Chase's "History of Dartmouth College," p. 292.

stinking provisions in a College alarms parents, who wish to secure health to their sons. Twenty oxen badly saved had better be cast into the river and perish, than one month's improper diet be given to the students. I would not wish to see profusion or delicacy enter our walls. Cleanliness, plenty, and plainness should never be absent."[1] A week after, the charity students made a public declaration to the effect that, "Whereas diverse Reports respecting the badness of the Board at Dartmouth College are credited through the country, we, the subscribers, being students of said College and Moor's School, desirous that the world may be rightly informed in this regard, beg leave to assure the public that we look upon the greatest part of these Rumors as false, unreasonable, and defamatory, and that we have had a plenty of good provisions the year past; that our food in general has been cooked, neat, and wholesome; and wherein we had had a Grievance of this nature through providential and unforeseen accidents, we have never failed of all possible Redress when proper application has been made for that purpose. We also beg leave to contradict the Reports that have been made, viz., that the Students have been very unhealthy on account of the Badness and slovenly Dressing of their Provisions, etc. Directly the reverse is true. Through divine goodness we have been remarkably healthy."[2] But whereas the charity students may have been remarkably healthy, it is apparent that those who were not charity students felt as though they had some ground for dissatisfaction. The independent students reported that breakfast in the Hall "was mostly the leaves of wintergreen made into a tea, and even that often sweetened with molasses; many times only broth for supper and breakfast, then coffee or chocolate, usually sweetened with molasses, and beef unfit to eat," though they claimed that they paid a price for commons "sufficient to provide wholesome and comfortable food."[3]

But whether the food was good or bad, the Dartmouth men in the first decades of the College history had many unique

[1] Chase's "History of Dartmouth College," p. 293.
[2] Ibid., p. 294.
[3] Ibid., p. 294.

labors and sports. Dartmouth represents one of the first systematic attempts in the uniting of education and self-support. In the intervals of study all students were expected to work on the land or in the mills or shops. It was forbidden " at any time to speak diminutively of the practice of labor, or by any means cast contempt upon it, or by word or action endeavor to discredit or discourage the same, on penalty of being obliged, at the direction of the President or tutor, to perform the same or its equivalent, or else (if he be not a charity scholar) to hire the same done by others; or in case of refusal that he be dismissed from College."[1] Men came from Litchfield, Conn., to enter the College, paying their college bills by working in the sawmills. One of them says, " After my admission to College I tended the sawmill about six weeks in the spring, which was chiefly vacation; and in the summer, besides going to College twice or three times a day, I made it my rule to labor about three hours in the field or garden, or some other kind of manual labor; I had scarcely a moment's leisure from one day, week, or month to another."[2] It may be added that the one who thus labored lived until the age of eighty-eight years, fifty-eight of which he spent as a pastor in Connecticut.

But sports as well as labor belonged to this pioneer academic community. Two years after the College was opened we find members of the Sophomore and Freshman Class petitioning to be allowed to spend a portion of their leisure hours in " stepping the minuet, and learning the sword." We also find a party of men of a winter's night in 1772–73, with the president's consent, camping out on beds of evergreen boughs with snowbanks as their warmest blankets. College students are not a class, they are a race.

But in the informalities of this pioneer condition the academic ceremonies and observances were still respected. An early code indicates the prevalence of the same essential methods and principles which obtained in the colleges of such capitals as New Haven and Cambridge. " The students . . . were required

[1] Chase's " History of Dartmouth College," p. 298.
[2] Ibid., p. 305.

to uncover their heads at the distance of four rods from a professor, and *six rods* from the President; also when they enter his dooryard (when the weather don't render it inconvenient, and when their hands are not necessarily otherwise employed), and never to speak of him or to him but in a manner savoring of deference and respect." Freshmen were moreover required " to have their heads uncovered when in the College or in the hall, and when they speak to Senior "; and the Seniors themselves were enjoined to " inspect the manners of the Freshmen, . . . especially to a due observance of these rules."[1]

Behind these rules and also behind all sports, pastimes, and manual labor of the students lay a simple and genuine respect for scholarship. The first Commencement was held in 1771. The four graduates had left their classes at Yale to complete their education at Dartmouth. Two of the orations at this Commencement were in Latin. The disputation had for its subject, " Whether the Knowledge of God Can be Acquired By The Light Of Nature." In 1778 was formally created the first professorship. The chair was broad; it covered Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and " other learned languages." The four tutors who had at various times aided the president represented the simplest elements of genuine learning, inspired by a zeal for human service. Height of purpose and intensity of earnestness helped to make up for breadth of learning and for scholastic equipment.

Both after as well as before the death of Wheelock the College was poor. The chief endowment of the College was in land; and land was cheap, and hard to sell at any price. The proceeds, whenever they were secured, were usually used, not as a fund of which the interest should be used, but as a fund for immediate expenditure. The attempts made by the son of Wheelock, his successor, to secure endowments abroad, were only partially successful. In the year 1783 England was not inclined to be as generous toward the United States of America as she was fifteen years before to her Colonies. The small results secured by the solicitation of the president and his brother were lost, on

[1] Chase's "History of Dartmouth College," p. 569.

their return, by shipwreck. In 1791 application was made to the State for as small a loan as six hundred dollars to save the college from bankruptcy. Resort was had to lotteries, and the proceeds of one of them, of nearly four thousand dollars, gave great relief.

In the beginning of the last century, in the year 1806, after an existence of thirty-six years, the property of the College represented thirteen thousand five hundred dollars, which was the result of the sale of lands. There were still unsold lands which were estimated to be worth nine thousand five hundred dollars. The capital value of leased land was estimated at twenty thousand dollars more. The sum, therefore, of forty-three thousand dollars was the entire endowment fund of the College. The buildings, the simple apparatus, and the library embodied the more material equipments.

But while the college was thus poor in money, it was becoming rich in students. In the second year after it was opened fifty were enrolled. In the year 1773 the number had increased to eighty; in the year 1780, when the depressing influence of the War was greatest, the number had fallen to thirty; but at the conclusion of the War the attendance rapidly increased, being a hundred in 1786, and a hundred and sixty in 1790. In 1798 it had fallen to a hundred and sixteen, but in 1810 it had risen to a hundred and seventy-four. Compared to other colleges early Dartmouth had its largest number of students in the last decade of the eighteenth century. In these ten years Princeton conferred two hundred and forty degrees, Yale two hundred and ninety-five, Harvard three hundred and ninety-four, and Dartmouth three hundred and sixty-three. In thirty years the college of Eleazar Wheelock, beginning few in numbers, always meager in equipment, remote from the centers of population, had secured a great place in the life of the community. The result was largely the prolongation of the influence of the great soul of Eleazar Wheelock.

The first two-thirds of the eighteenth century form a stormy period in Massachusetts. As the century was in Europe remarkable for the wars of succession, the Spanish and Austrian, the Polish and Bavarian, so in the New England colonies the

first six decades were conspicuous for contentions—political and ecclesiastical. The civil condition was unsettled. A time of transition, touching the basis of civil rights so fundamental as the transfer from church membership to property, could not be other than a time of struggle. Power was indeed changing. The people were usually jealous of the governor, who was commonly a king's policeman. The governor was willing to take advantage of every opportunity for benefiting himself or enriching his royal master. The legislative and executive authorities were, therefore, quarrelsome.

Into this civil and political condition ecclesiastical and religious questions were thrust. In a community in which the church is the state, or in which is occurring the separation of these two institutions, all questions of public government hold relations to religion and the church, and all religious and ecclesiastical questions hold relations to the state. The creed and its amendment touch the civil constitution, and laws and public statutes hold relations to the formal creed. The clergyman and the legislator represent similar and dissimilar functions.

Such a duplex condition obtained in Massachusetts. It was fraught with all manner of personal, constitutional, religious, and ecclesiastical perils. The church party was trying to keep what the no-church party was seeking to gain, and the no-church party was seeking to supplant the church party in rights which they had held for several generations.

To these ills should be added the fact that moral declension was already manifesting itself. The Governor of Connecticut, in a proclamation for a fast in the year 1743, declared: "Neglect and contempt of the Gospel and its ministers, a prevailing and abounding spirit of error, disorder, unpeaceableness, pride, bitterness, uncharitableness, censoriousness, disobedience, calumniating and reviling of authority, divisions, contentions, separations and confusions in churches, injustice, idleness, evil speaking, lasciviousness, and all other vices and impieties abounded."[1] Although one does not go to a fast-day proclamation for optimistic interpretations of social and civil life, yet

[1] Quincy's "History of Harvard University," vol. ii, pp. 47–48.

there is reason to believe that the picture thus outlined was in a large degree true as well as graphic.

The religious declension of the century was not confined to America. It is indicated in what Bishop Butler wrote in 1736 and repeated in 1751. In a charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Durham, in 1751, he observes that the decay of religion is general; that this decay is seen by everyone, and has been made the subject of complaint by serious persons.

The general condition of disorganization and disintegration extended into the oldest college. Harvard was obliged to depend on the General Court for grants for carrying on its work. Its relation therefore to the general government was necessary and vital. Into the College came the doctrinal disputes and ecclesiastical bickerings of the general community. Congregationalists conservative and Congregationalists liberal contended for mastery in its administration. Both wings of this church were jealous of the increasing power of the Episcopalians. The College officers themselves were quite as belligerent with each other as each of the official bodies were at times with the civil authorities. The Fellows, usually called "The Corporation," as it was the only corporation in Massachusetts in the eighteenth century, were usually liberal in their theology and progressive in their plans for the College. The Overseers, a board composed of neighboring clergy and magistrates, were conservative in both doctrine and practice. The supposition that the college charter was repealed with the charter of the Colony in 1684 left the college without a formal foundation until, in 1707, the charter of 1650 was reaffirmed. Such a condition tended to create discussion, division, and constitutional disintegration. For more than fifty years personal, ecclesiastical, and administrative forces which should have entered into the advancement of the College were wasted in what now seem to be petty antagonisms and trivial jealousies. The College was throughout this period a football which ecclesiastic and civilian, heretic and religionist, conservative and liberal, felt free to kick to and fro.

From the involuntary close of Increase Mather's presidency in 1701—a term rather more stormy than any that followed it—

down to the eve of the Revolution in 1769, occurred four administrations. They bear the name of Willard, Leverett, Wadsworth, and Holyoke.

The college president of any age represents a type. The Harvard president of the first two-thirds of the eighteenth century was of large and symmetrical character. He was not, what Plutarch says was true of Themistocles in his youth, a man of extremes. In opinion deliberate, in action moderate, in feeling calm, he embodied the qualities of the safe man. He was of a type opposite to that which the Mathers embodied. Apparently the community, general and academic, had come to desire that the college should, as far as possible, be free from entangling, self-seeking personalities and acrimonious debates. Willard, of the Class of 1659, after a pastorate at Groton, was in 1678 installed minister of the Old South Church. In this ministry he continued until his death in 1707. The last six years of the period he served as president, though the title he bore was that of vice-president. With understanding, judgment, and piety, " furnished with learning and solid notion," industrious, brave, patient, are the characterizations given to him by his contemporaries.

Willard's successor was a greater man than he, and among the greatest in many respects of all the presidents of the century. John Leverett took his first degree in 1680. He studied divinity and preached, he studied law and practiced. Four years after graduation he became a tutor, and upon him and a classmate, William Brattle, for some ten years of Mather's term, rested the chief duties of administration and instruction. His services were demanded beyond the college walls. He was made representative to the Legislature; he was elected Speaker of the House; he became a member of the Governor's Council; he was appointed a judge of the Superior Court, and also of the Probate Court. In 1704 he was made a commissioner to the Five Nations; he also served as lieutenant of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery. In the year 1707 he was elected president of Harvard College. The nomination by the Fellows was accompanied by a vote to the effect that he " Lay aside and Decline all Interfering Offices & Imployments and Devote himself to sd worke, And by the

Divine help be A Very able and faithful Instrum't to promote the holy Religion here practiced and established, by Instructing and fitting for Our Pulpits, and Churchs, and Other publick and usefull Services, Such as Shal in this School of the Prophets be Committed to his Care & charge."[1]

In his term of seventeen years several important questions were presented. In the year 1721 two tutors submitted to the Overseers a memorial claiming to be Fellows of the Corporation on the ground of being fellows or tutors, residents of Cambridge. The claim was based upon the failure to discriminate between a fellow as a legal, and a fellow as a scholastic person. In the Oxford and the Cambridge colleges the distinction does not obtain. The fellow, or the holder of a fellowship, is also the governor or trustee. This serious question was met with firmness. It resulted in a decision affirming the distinction between the two functions. The fellow of the house, or tutor, was declared to be a separate personality from the Fellow of the Corporation. Inquiries, troublesome, as they were in a large part unnecessary, regarding the religious, the moral condition of the College, were set on foot. The purpose was not so much to discover the truth as to embarrass the president and his friends. In the administration of Leverett the bounty of the Hollis family began to flow, enlarging the funds to aid needy students, contributing to the library, founding the two professorships, of divinity, and of mathematics and physics. Leverett possessed far greater power of initiative than belonged to most of his predecessors and of his successors. His knowledge, too, was broad, his labors were diverse, his diligence was constant. Greatness of character constituted in no small measure the greatness of his service. Under him, despite jealousy and embarrassment, the College prospered. The average number of students was more than doubled; it reached a number which was not exceeded for fifty years. The Classes of 1708, of 1709, of 1710, and of 1711 had respectively thirteen, ten, fourteen, and twelve members. The last four classes with which he had association in his administration numbered respectively thirty-one, forty-

[1] Sibley's "Harvard Graduates," vol. iii, p. 185.

three, forty, and forty-five members. He was quite as free from the love of money as are most college presidents; but he suffered for the lack of it to a degree to which most college presidents are not obliged. After years of noble service, on a salary of one hundred and fifty pounds, exclusive of a few grants, he died in debt up to the amount of about two thousand pounds, for the payment of which his daughters were compelled to sell their house which they had received from their great-grandfather.

In Wadsworth the College returned to the type of moderation embodied in Willard. Graduating in 1690, becoming pastor of the First Church of Boston in 1696, he continued in this office until chosen president in 1725. Solid, strong, practical, are the epithets applied to his character. In his time emerged the first intimations of what is called the Faculty. Free from ostentation, prudent, self-possessed, he represents the dignity of the executive office as well as embodies the more solid parts of personal character. The successor of Wadsworth was Edward Holyoke. A Boston boy, graduating in 1705, made tutor in 1712, Fellow of the Corporation in 1713, and president in 1737—such is the simple record of preparation for the longest presidency in the history of the College until the present generation. The happiness of his administration was intimated in the unanimity of his election, for neither Willard nor Leverett nor Wadsworth had been the unanimous choice of both the Fellows and the Overseers. In Holyoke the qualities of the gentleman seem to be superior to those of the scholar, and the elements of the heart stronger than those of the intellect. In character catholic, in general understanding sound, faithful to duty, he was loved by his students. The fatherly relation toward the college boys was embodied in him. Of him President Stiles says: "Mr. Holyoke was the polite Gentleman, of a noble commanding presence, & moderated at Commencements with great Dignity. He was perfectly acquainted with academic Matters. Of a good degree of Literature both in Languages & Sciences, particularly in mathematical-mechanic Philosophy. Yet was not of great Erudition. Qualified, however, exceedingly well for the Presidency of a College, especially as he had a good spirit

of Government; which was partly natural to him, partly acquired from President Leverett, who ruled and governed with great Dignity."[1]

In Holyoke's term many and great improvements were made in the general order of college life and in the enlargement of the course of study.

Of the four presidents who occupied the first sixty-nine years of the eighteenth century Leverett was without doubt by far the ablest, and Holyoke represented the greatest achievements for the College. Leverett should be placed among the most efficient of all the officers, and the worth of the service of Holyoke was in many respects the richest rendered to the College for two centuries.

From the foundation of the College in 1636, down to 1766, the course of study had remained essentially untouched. Latin, Greek, Hebrew, mathematics, logic, and metaphysics embodied the great subjects. The noble literary movements of any generation had scarcely affected the academic curriculum. Although the first part of the eighteenth century was a time of fundamental changes in the civilization of Europe, changes far greater on the Continent than in Great Britain, yet these changes had not penetrated within college walls. The first part of the eighteenth century covered the working period of the life of Montesquieu, and in the middle of the century Rousseau was approaching the beginning of his unique career. In the first fifty years is included the larger share of the life of Voltaire. In England it was the half century of Swift, Pope, Goldsmith, of Richardson, Fielding, and Smollett. But the literary impulse of the reign of Queen Anne did not reach Massachusetts or its college for more than a quarter of a century.

Every improvement in a course of study usually arises either from a condition lying in a general demand of the community asking for a better education, or from the progressive spirit of a college officer. The improvement of the curriculum of Harvard College, beginning with the last third of the century, had its origin in the mood of the community.

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[1] "Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles," vol. ii, p. 336.

That vital spirit out of which sprang the War of the Revolution had academic as well as civil relations. But the special cause of the improvement in the course of study lay in the Board of Overseers. In that Board were three or four men of wide influence, of rare intelligence, and of a desire to serve the people. Among them were Thomas Hutchinson, Jonathan Mayhew, Samuel Cooper, and Charles Chauncy. These men and their associates, on investigation, were convinced that no improvement in the value of the training given by the College had occurred in many years. A respectable degree of scholarship obtained. The humdrum of academic leisure prevailed. They at once set themselves about the business of improvement.

The most significant change made for increasing the value of the education was a transfer of the duties of the tutor from college class to subject taught. It had been the custom of each of the four tutors to teach one class in all subjects. Hereafter each tutor taught one subject to all classes. The basis of instruction was changed from personality to topic. The change is among the most serious changes ever made in the college curriculum. The division was made upon the basis (1) of Latin, (2) of Greek, (3) of logic, metaphysics, and ethics, and in the fourth group were included mathematics, physics, geography, and astronomy. This change was most significant. It was an intimation of the subordination of personality to scholarship, and of the elevation of scholarship. It was the beginning of a change which has, for almost a century and a half, been progressing in the American college.

The vital association of the college with the community was at the same time indicated by the introduction of special instruction in elocution. The connection between eloquent speech and the War of the Revolution was intimate. The relations between the provincial and the home government had already become strained. Through public speech the sentiments and feelings of the community in a time of excitement and distress are fittingly expressed. As the Board of Overseers indicated, in a vote passed in 1756, good public speech makes the speaker "an honor to his country."[1]

[1] Quincy's "History of Harvard University," vol. ii, p. 125.

The changes introduced into the course of study resulted in an enhancement of its value to the students of the next half century. The evidence of such increase in value abounds. The associate in the pastorate of the First Church of Boston of Charles Chauncy, an efficient member of the Board of Overseers, was John Clarke. John Clarke took his first degree in 1774. Twenty-two years after his graduation he published a little volume called, "Letters to a Student in the University of Cambridge, Massachusetts." The chasteness of the style, the wisdom of counsel, and the breadth of vision which characterize the book are evidences of the broad humanity of the curriculum of the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

The comments which are made upon the different subjects of study are sympathetic with the modern spirit. In writing of the value of Latin and Greek it is remarked:

"You will remember, that a mere etymologist is the very lowest character in the republick of letters. Such a person may understand the derivation of a word, without knowing its precise meaning. And though he assume the name, he must want the essentials of the scholar. It is therefore, injustice to classical studies, to represent the pendantick qualifications of an etymologist as the principal end for which those studies are pursued.

"You will ask then, why so much time is devoted to them; and why a persevering application to the Classicks is so warmly recommended? I answer, for the very important purpose of improving your understanding, and cultivating your taste. The Roman and Grecian writers of established reputation will assist you in thinking, writing, and speaking well. In their works you will find the most liberal and elegant sentiments. Many of their productions may be considered as finished models of good sense, and good language. To borrow an expression from one, who was qualified to discern their beauties, and to estimate their value, you must look to those writers for 'all that belongs to original genius, to a spirited, masterly, and high execution.' These reasons are sufficient to justify the earnestness, with which I recommend Classical Studies. It is my wish to see you instructed and delighted; to see your genius acquire strength, and your taste a high polish." [1]

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[1] Clarke's "Letters to a Student in the University of Cambridge, Massachusetts," pp. 46 *et seq.*

Such, in essence, are the reasons which have, by numberless writers and for several centuries, been urged in a great variety of forms in behalf of classical studies. But the value of the dead languages is not to be suffered to obscure the worth of one's own.

"To write your own language with grammatical correctness; to read and speak it with propriety; to discern its beauties; and to be able to distinguish those beauties by their proper names, are objects highly deserving the attention of a scholar. . . ." [1]

"It is mortifying to observe, how few, after all the expenses of a publick education, are masters of their own language. Errours in point of grammar are not uncommon. Still more numerous are the faults arising from the impertinence and confusion of Rhetorical figures. The incumberance of superfluous words is a general evil. And many compositions, in which the rules of grammar are strictly observed, and which are not deficient in ornament, are disgusting for want of that smoothness which is produced by a judicious arrangement of words, particularly of those which terminate a sentence. . . ." [1]

"You will not therefore, think it beneath you to avail yourself of everything which is esteemed an excellence in good writing. Endeavour first, to be grammatically correct. . . ." [1]

"The professor of languages will cheerfully afford his assistance. He will point out redundances and defects. He will show when figures are improperly introduced; and when they are pertinent and ornamental. He will convince you how much a style may be improved, merely by a transposition of words. The principles of harmony, he will explain to your satisfaction. He will refer you to compositions at once clear, rich, and flowing. And with the most weighty arguments he will support the assertion, that you must write *agreeably*, if you would write *well*." [1]

The study of history too is well interpreted and justly commended.

"When master of these elements, a youth is qualified to study larger works with success. He is able to connect events with a precision, which otherwise would not have been in his power. And whilst he observes things with the eye of a philosopher, like a philosopher he will endeavour to refer them to their proper causes. Must not such a study be highly gratifying to an inquisitive mind? Must not historical knowledge be an

[1] Clarke's "Letters to a Student in the University of Cambridge, Massachusetts," pp. 54, 55, 56, 58.

inexhaustible source of mental attainment? Is it not one of the truly elegant accomplishments of the scholar?" [1]

Equally just interpretations and directions for the study of French and Hebrew, of mathematics and of theology, are offered. The counsel of Dr. Clarke is evidence that a high type of literary scholarship was beginning to prevail in the oldest college in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Every letter of the collection is filled with a vital human spirit.

Improvements of a single sort in a college do not occur alone. The causes out of which spring increasing values of one type produce an increase of values of a different type. The laws and customs of Harvard College in the last decades of the eighteenth century, which had been in force from its beginning, were altered. Although pecuniary mulcts were continued as punishments, yet physical chastisement was no longer formally authorized, as it had been for some time practically discontinued. The lot of the Freshman also became more endurable. The value of social distinctions was lessened. Beginning with the class of 1773 the names of the members were arranged in alphabetical order. The spirit of individual liberty existed apart from family and social differences. The changes in the laws and customs represent simply the change in the sentiment and practices of the general community. College laws and customs, like the laws and customs of the community itself, are to be kept in vital touch with the spirit of the community whose members are supposed to obey them. If this vitality of relationship cease, the laws themselves lose their power. The larger liberty of the times was showing itself, as it usually does in its first application, in eccentricities and excesses. In the middle of the century drunkenness, both within and without the college walls, had greatly increased. Wealthy students, despite the pecuniary difficulties of the time, were profuse in expenditure. The regard shown to college officers, as well as the respect paid to college laws, had fallen. In such a condition the remedy lies not in the passing of severer laws and in the making of greater restrictions.

[1] Clarke's "Letters to a Student in the University of Cambridge, Massachusetts," pp. 62, 63.

The remedy lies in a thorough change in the basis of control and of government. The granting of liberty tends to promote worthiness of enjoying liberty. The authorities, therefore, of the College were wise in the abolition of many formal, petty, and annoying restrictions, and in increasing the force of the appeal made to each individual student for propriety in conduct. But with the presence of the anarchistical spirit which is always prevailing in every college to a greater or less extent, was presently united the spirit of rebellion in the province itself. From the year 1776 to the year 1783 the pursuit of academic objects in every college was disturbed, and in the case of several colleges instruction itself was absolutely suspended.

The elements of the life of the undergraduate were few, and these few simple. The number and variety of clubs, of societies and organizations were not to begin for three-quarters of a century. The diaries and letters of students illustrate the simplicity of the life. The diary of Nathaniel Ames, son of Dr. Nathaniel Ames, the publisher of almanacs, is preserved. It covers the calendar year of 1758. The record is occupied with such facts as specially interest the college man, as the beginning and the close of the period of vacation, the attendance at, or failure to attend, recitations, the beginning and the close of the study of subjects. The entries are also not without reference to concerns more or less public. The second of May is "Training Day," and the thirty-first is an election day, "on which rain fell." The surrender of Louisburg on the seventeenth of June is noted. It is not beneath the notice of the writer to include some very personal matters, such as on the fourteenth of December he "had some cold pig, catch'd cold." On the twenty-first of the same month there was a dance at Bradford's Chamber, and it is noted that "my chum at Boston all night."[1]

The frolicsomeness of college life was not absent. Francis Hopkinson, a member of the first class of the University of Pennsylvania, who contributed to the more serious literature of the Revolution, has left a paper in which he makes fun of college

[1] Dedham's "Historical Register," 1890, No. 1, pp. 10–16, quoted in Hart's "American History Told by Contemporaries," vol. ii, pp. 226 *et seq.*

examinations in a thoroughly modern spirit. Under the head of mathematics, logic, and natural philosophy he asks many a question regarding a salt box. Under the metaphysical division he inquires, "What are certain of the distinctions of salt boxes?" and the answer is "possible," "probable," and "positive." Under the head of logic is asked, "How many parts are there in a salt box?" and the answer is "bottom, "top," and side." How many modes are there in salt boxes? "Formal," "substantial," "accidental," and the "topsy-turvy."[1]

The first degrees given in the oldest American college were given in the year 1642. From that year down to the outbreak of the Revolutionary War a hundred and twenty-nine classes had graduated. In the years 1644, 1648, 1672, 1682, and 1688 no degrees were conferred. At the outbreak of the Revolution William and Mary and Yale had been in existence about three-quarters of a century each, Princeton for about a third of a century, and Columbia, Pennsylvania, and Dartmouth had educated a few score of men. The question therefore arises what contribution for the betterment of the community, or for the strengthening of the State, had these colleges made. The worth of the contribution of the higher education down to the beginning of the War of the Revolution lies in the training of men. The colleges had not become the nurses of scholarship; they were obliged to be content with trying to achieve the human purpose of the formation of character.

The most comprehensive answer to be given to the question is that about one-half of the clergymen of the New England and the central Colonies had been trained in their colleges. The order of character and of native ability of those who became clergymen was high, and this ability had received as good a training in the essential elements of discipline as was received by the students of Oxford or of Cambridge. What it lacked in breadth it gained, and more than gained, in intensity. Although the sons and grandsons of Cotton and Shepard and Hooker might not possess the prestige of their ancestors, yet

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[1] Francis Hopkinson's "Miscellaneous Essays," i, pp. 343–349, quoted in Hart's "American History Told by Contemporaries," vol. ii, pp. 272 *et seq.*

in respect to scholarship as well as piety, in respect to faithfulness as well as earnestness, they were apparently the equals of the older generation. The character of the clergy of New England and of the Middle Colonies was of the highest. Harvard had trained ministers for neighboring churches and also for those of remote parts. In turn, these ministers became guardians and protectors of the College which had given them an intellectual birthright. Yale College had hardly become fixed in New Haven when it graduated a student who has come to be recognized as one of the greatest philosophic thinkers which this country has produced, and who has been called the ablest metaphysician of the period between Leibnitz and Kant. Entering college at the age of thirteen, and spending three years of his course at Wethersfield, he yet graduated with the highest rank in his class. For two years following his graduation he pursued theological studies in the college. The genius of Jonathan Edwards would have survived the badness of any college course, but his long continuation at Yale is evidence of his appreciation of the advantages which he received. Following Edwards, Samuel Hopkins, whom President Stiles calls a great reasoner, and Nathaniel Emmons, of the Class of 1767, represent a noble clerical triumvirate. In her short period of thirty years Princeton, too, had helped to educate ministers for churches in each of the colonies and principal towns. Columbia and Pennsylvania numbered in their classes which graduated in the score of years before the Revolution such names as Provoost and Van Dyck, Benjamin Moore, Thomas Hopkinson, and Richard Lee.

In the calling of the law the contribution was quite as effective as, even if the members of the profession were less numerous than, obtained in the ministry. As one traces the lists of starred names in the catalogues one recognizes that only a small share of these names possesses longer any other than family or very personal interest. Nine of every ten of them has become for humanity a name and nothing else. A star has been made a substitute for what was once fame. But out of these lists, taking only one college for more than a century, it is not difficult to choose names which represent the worth of the offering made by all the colleges for the enrichment of the State through

the legal as well as the clerical and other vocations. Joseph Dudley, of Harvard, of the Class of 1665, who came to occupy the highest civil and judicial positions in the Colony; Samuel Sewall, of the Class of 1671; Benjamin Lynde, of the Class of 1686; Paul Dudley, of the Class of 1690; Jonathan Remington, of the Class of 1696; Jonathan Belcher, of the Class of 1699; George Jaffrey, of the Class of 1702, and Stephen Sewall, of the Class of 1721; Thomas Hutchinson and Jonathan Trumbull, of the Class of 1727; Peter Oliver, of 1730; Samuel Adams, of 1740; Thomas Cushing, of 1744; James Bowdoin, of 1745; Robert Treat Paine, of 1749; William Cushing, of 1751; David Sewall, of 1755; Theophilus Bradbury, of 1757; John Lowell, of 1760; John Pickering, of 1761; Francis Dana and Elbridge Gerry, of 1762, represent in all cases personal and professional forces which helped to constitute the new State. Some of these names, too, represent absolutely great service and lasting fame. The first Yale graduate who chose the law was William Smith, of the Class of 1719, who became a leader of the bar of New York. Two years later graduated Thomas Fitch, the codifier of the laws of the Colony of Connecticut, who served as chief justice, and who was called by the first President Dwight "as probably the most learned lawyer who had ever been an inhabitant of the Colony."[1] Joshua Babcock was the chief justice of Rhode Island, and David Ogden was the first college-bred lawyer of New Jersey who became a judge of the Supreme Court. In the Class of 1740, or immediately following, Dyer, chief justice of Connecticut, Livingston, of New York and of New Jersey, William Samuel Johnson, Richard Morris, chief justice of the Supreme Court of New York, were graduated. In the classes of the following decades also appear equally great names. In other colleges founded before the Revolution, as in Yale and Harvard, professional service as lawyers frequently resulted in public service in the legislature or in administration. Princeton and King's, through their first classes, furnished statesmen for the making of the new republic. From practically each of the first classes of the New Jersey college went one

[1] Dexter's "Yale Biographies and Annals," vol. i, p. 248.

man to be a member of the Continental Congress. Among the great names which appear in legislative or executive relationships are Ebenezer Hazard and William Bell Patterson, Pierpont Edwards and Oliver Ellsworth. The first classes, too, of King's contain such significant names as those of John Jay, Robert R. Livingston, Gouverneur Morris, and Alexander Hamilton.

The contribution made to the profession of medicine is not so conspicuous, but it is no less deserving. The profession of the physician is the most personal of all professions. The medical profession, until toward the close of the eighteenth century, had hardly been organized. Of the three types of the medical practitioners—the empiric, the regular, and the priest—the priest had a large place. Of the seven graduates of Yale of the first two decades of the eighteenth century who became physicians all with one exception were clergymen, and of the seventy-two physicians who graduated in the first half century, nearly one-fourth were clergymen. Jared Eliot, grandson of the apostle to the Indians, John Griswold, of the Class of 1721, of Norwich, graduates who gave themselves entirely to the medical profession, are especially significant. After 1750 the place of the priest-physician narrows. In the eighteenth century about two hundred graduates of Yale found in medicine their chief or only work. Alexander Wolcott, Benjamin Gale, Leverett Hubbard, Eneas Munson, Jared Potter, represent those who through theoretical learning or through active practice made rich contributions for the betterment of the study. Such names at Harvard as Oliver Prescott, Cotton Tufts, Samuel Danforth, are great names.

Through the more public professions or through direct channels of influence the colleges were also making rich offerings of service to the new Commonwealth. The administration of Witherspoon of Princeton began eight years before the outbreak of the Revolution and continued eleven years after its close. Of four hundred and sixty-nine graduates of the College in this period, one hundred and fourteen became clergymen; of the remaining three hundred and fifty-five one was for eight years President of the United States, one was for four years Vice-President, six were members of the Continental Congress,

twenty became senators; twenty-three, representatives; thirteen, governors of individual States, three Judges of the Supreme Court of their different States, and at least twenty officers in the army of the Revolution. At the same time Harvard College had as fellow-students John Hancock, of the Class of 1754, and John Adams of the following year. Artemus Ward was a member of the Class of 1748, who was made a delegate to the Continental Congress, and became a general of the American Army.

The enrichment, too, which the colleges made to the life of the Colonies through the training of writers should not be omitted. For better or for worse, but always for strength, the oldest college had trained the Mathers. The next to the oldest New England college had also, through training Jonathan Edwards for the ministry, trained one who became, as has already been intimated, among the greatest of thinkers and the most influential of authors. Such names as Urian Oakes, Michael Wigglesworth, Roger Wolcott, and John Adams have little significance for us as poets, but for their own age they embodied great thoughts and moving emotions. John Wise, the great exponent of democracy in State and church; Jeremiah Dummer, defending the New England charters; William Hubbard and Thomas Prince, the historians of New England; William Smith, writer as well as minister and college president, represent, together with other names equally significant, the offerings which the colleges were directly or indirectly making for the elevation, enriching, and better ordering of the life of the new Commonwealth.

Although the American college has stood for larger relationships since the close of the War of Independence, yet the colleges founded before that time embodied relationships which, if less large, were no less significant or impressive. A new nation is in peril of materialism, of sensualism, and, in certain cases, of absolute brutalism. The Colonial colleges embodied and declared a gospel of and for the intellect and the heart of man. A new nation is in peril of alienating itself from the past; the ancient classics were the chief studies of the student and of the professor. A new nation is in grave danger of allow-

ing itself to be ruled by the ideals of the market-place. Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, and the colleges founded in the middle of the century represented a high ideal of scholarship and of moral character. The colleges united the Colonies. They embodied a common respect for the things unseen and eternal. They instructed the present out of the past, and through the inculcation of knowledge made men wise for practical affairs. If they lacked the refinements and breadth of scholarship to which their grandchildren and great-grandchildren are accustomed, they did not lack intellectual enthusiasm. Though poor themselves, they made many rich in lasting wealth. Without them the Revolution would have been put off a generation; and through them the results of the Revolution were conserved.

CHAPTER VI

THE COLLEGES IN THE REVOLUTION

The war of the American Revolution had special relations to the graduates of the American college. This war was, in point of time and of logic, a rational contest. Its issues were first fought out in public debate, oral and written. The conclusion of such debate prepared the way for the contest of the sword. The questions considered were constitutional; they had no relation to a stretch of territory or to a royal succession. They were national, international, human. They touched the essential and fundamental elements of civil and political existence. The cause was too great, the issues at stake were too momentous, to allow other than the use of the highest principles, or the indulgence of other than the noblest emotions. The conditions touched the relations of personal and national destiny in ways which suggested the presence of the Greek chorus or of the Hebrew prophet.

In the year 1775 were living not far from twenty-five hundred graduates of the nine colleges. About one-quarter of the number entered the service. But for more than a decade before the year of Lexington and of Concord the war was carried on by the voice and by the pen. The leaders in the rational form of the struggle were largely college men.

At the age of eighty-three, reviewing the Revolutionary contest, John Adams said: "The characters the most conspicuous, the most ardent and influential in this revival, from 1760 to 1766, were, first and foremost, before all and above all, James Otis; next to him was Oxenbridge Thacher; next to him, Samuel Adams; next to him, John Hancock; then Dr. Mayhew."[1] To this quintette should of course be added the name of John

[1] "The Life and Works of John Adams," by Charles Francis Adams, vol. x, p. 284.

Adams himself; in addition also should be included the name of Josiah Quincy. If one should pass beyond the capital of northern New England, and include in his survey the period up to and including the Declaration of Independence, he will meet with the names of Stephen Johnson, Francis Hopkinson, John Trumbull, John Jay, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, and the Lees of Virginia.

These men, together with the few of their less conspicuous contemporaries, were the aggressive forces that determined the Revolution. Without them, apparently, the great contest would have been deferred. In different ways, through fiery oratory or constitutional argument or poem, they made the Revolution. But what is profoundly significant is that each of these men was the graduate of a colonial college. The Lees of Virginia are to be alone excepted, who, in common with a larger proportion of the men of the southern colonies than of the northern, had received their education in England.

James Otis took his first degree at Harvard College in the year 1743 at the age of eighteen.

"He was a gentleman of general science and extensive literature. He had been an indefatigable student during the whole course of his education in college and at the bar. He was well versed in Greek and Roman history, philosophy, oratory, poetry, and mythology. His classical studies had been unusually ardent, and his acquisitions uncommonly great. . . . This classic scholar was also a great master of the laws of nature and nations. . . ."

Thus writes John Adams of the scholarship of Otis, and he also says of his influence in the promotion of the great contest:

"I shall only say, and I do say in the most solemn manner, that Mr. Otis's oration against *writs of assistance* breathed into this nation the breath of life." [1]

Next to James Otis, and as conspicuous in the movement, John Adams puts Oxenbridge Thacher. An associate of Otis at the Boston bar, taking his degree at Harvard five years before

[1] "The Life and Works of John Adams," by Charles Francis Adams, vol. x, pp. 275, 276.

Otis, abandoning the vocation of the ministry by reason of a weak voice, he, in and through the profession of the law, proved his intellectual alertness, sound sense, and zeal. His writings are a consistent, consecutive, and direct argument against the new measures of the English government. His statement lacks the fire and force of Otis's declaration; it is utterly free from the frenzy of Patrick Henry; it breathes a spirit of love and reverence for England.

Following Thacher in John Adams's category is placed Samuel Adams. Samuel Adams was also a graduate of Harvard College, midway between Thacher and Otis; and each he must have known in their undergraduate days. Adams has been known by various names: the man of the town meeting, the father of democracy, the man of the Revolution, the grand incendiary, and the Cromwell of New England. In the years 1765 and 1766 Samuel Adams was undoubtedly the most influential in urging the cause of American rights, and it has been said that in the history of the great movement his name is second only to Washington's.

The relation of John Hancock to the College was more intimate than that possessed by any one of the other men already named. By reason of family connections or of wealth he was chosen treasurer of the College, an office to the duties of which he was at least careless, and the administration of which he shamelessly abused. The fifth name in John Adams's list is that of Mayhew. Jonathan Mayhew was perhaps the most conspicuous of all the ministers who spoke and wrote in behalf of the freedom of the Colonies. A graduate of Harvard in 1744, he was three years later made pastor of the West Church in Boston, and in the pastorate he died twenty-two years after, at the age of forty-five. Mayhew seems to have been a real tribune of the people, who used his pulpit as an observatory for seeing the whole horizon of what he esteemed to be truth, and also as a rostrum for the affirmation, not only of theological, but of civil, political, and economic doctrines. Wit and humor seasoned his discourse. His genius has been called transcendent. His character was noble, and seems to have been constituted of all the virtues and all the graces except that of humility.

In this list of able men who promoted the movement for freedom the name of John Adams himself should not be omitted. Adams took his first degree at Harvard in 1755, following the year in which John Hancock graduated. Adams may be called the constitutional lawyer of the movement. His learning was more affluent, his intellect more acute and more active, his theories of society, religion, education, government, more persuasive, his courage more prompt than is found in other statesmen of the period. No one is to be compared with him in all the period excepting his great rival of Virginia.

If the college in Cambridge made such a contribution toward the promotion of the great movement, the offerings made by other colleges, if not so numerous, were also as worthy.

The First Continental Congress, in its session of September and October, 1774, caused the writing of a series of state papers, which were in January of the next year laid before the House of Lords. One of these papers bore the name of "An Address to the People of Great Britain." This paper was written by John Jay. It was of these papers that Lord Chatham said: "When your lordships look at the papers transmitted us from America, when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause, and wish to make it your own. For myself, I must declare and avow that in all my reading and observation — and it has been my favorite study; I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master-states of the world—that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation, or body of men, can stand in preference to the general Congress at Philadelphia."[1]

John Jay was a graduate of King's College, in its seventh Class (a class of only two members) of 1764. A short time before the battles of Lexington and of Concord, two pamphlets appeared in New York vindicating the measures of the Congress, of moral acumen, cleverness, and fullness of learning. It was proved that these pamphlets were the work of a boy of seven-

[1] Cobbett's "The Parliamentary History of England," vol. xviii, p. 155.

teen, born in the West Indies, of Scotch and French parentage, whose name was Alexander Hamilton. They were written by him about the time of his leaving King's College. In these pamphlets all the qualities which distinguished Hamilton's more mature, but certainly not more wonderful, writings are found. Gouverneur Morris was also a graduate of King's College of the Class of 1768.

Of Yale, Princeton, and Pennsylvania—perhaps the most conspicuous representative of the first-named college was John Trumbull, the poet; of the second, Philip Freneau, and of the third, Francis Hopkinson. Hopkinson was the first student to enter the Philadelphia College, where he took his degree in 1757. Trumbull took his first degree at Yale in 1767, at the age of seventeen, although it is said that he was prepared for college at the age of seven; and Philip Freneau, of Huguenot stock, at the Commencement of 1771. Hopkinson, Trumbull, and Freneau are the three great satirists of the Revolution.

The author of the Declaration of Independence was a graduate of William and Mary College of the Class of 1759. But at or about this year are found the names of Benjamin Harrison, Carter Braxton, and George Wythe, all signers of the Declaration. There also are " Peyton Randolph, first president of the Continental Congress, and John Tyler, governor of Virginia; Edmund Randolph, Attorney-General and Secretary of State; Beverley Randolph, governor of Virginia; John Mercer, governor of Maryland; James Innes, Attorney-General of Virginia; James Monroe, President of the United States; John Blair, Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, and John Marshall, the great chief justice." [1]

But the student of the American Revolution knows that not all of the college graduates, as not all of the people, were in favor of the Declaration of Independence. A large and impressive minority were opposed to the whole movement. Among the three hundred and ten men of Massachusetts who were banished in 1778 from that province were found sixty graduates of Harvard College. It is probable that not far from one-third of

[1] Herbert B. Adams's "College of William and Mary," pp. 18, 19.

the people were loyal to King George. One of the most conspicuous of all the men was one who is now known as Bishop Seabury. Samuel Seabury was the author of the pamphlets called "The West Chester Farmer," which Hamilton had answered, and who at the time of their issue, in 1774 and 1775, was rector of a parish in West Chester. He was a graduate of Yale and a descendant of the earliest colonists of New England, including John Alden. The head of King's College, who followed Samuel Johnson, was Myles Cooper, who was driven from his home by a mob and escaped to England. But Cooper was alone among the presidents in his warm adherence to the loyalist cause. Although Provost William Smith, of Pennsylvania, seems to have become lukewarm in his enthusiasm in the latter part of the contest, yet in the main his voice was clear and strong.

Stiles became president of Yale in the midst of the contest, and he has left on record, in diary and sermon, proof of his foresight and allegiance respecting the independence of the new nation. Langdon, of Harvard, of brief administration, and not conspicuous, was also a devoted friend of the Revolutionary cause. The most conspicuous and worthy, however, of all the college presidents of the time was Witherspoon of Princeton. He was chosen president of Princeton in 1768. Presently his reputation as an interpreter of civil conditions became greater than his reputation as an academic executive. In the year 1776 he was made a member of the body which framed the first constitution of New Jersey. Later in the same year he was chosen a member of the Continental Congress and signed the Declaration. He remained in the service of the government until the close of the Revolution. He had an influence in the Congress which was exceeded by few, if any, of his associates. In him were united most valuable qualities for the great legislative and executive crises. Vigorous in character without severity, great in personal influence without ostentation, his place was among the foremost. His mind was virile and well trained; his emotions were under the control of a vigorous will. Impressive in speech, he yet did not suffer the instinct of eloquence to interfere with his work as a legislator and a committeeman. Although his

relations were clerical and academic, the human end was potent in all his work.

With the exception of Thomas Paine, the American Revolution as a rational movement was largely conducted by men who were liberally educated. The great majority of them were educated in the colleges of the Colonies which sought freedom. There never was a war in which the college men had larger influence in determining its grounds and principles. Without their insight the interpretation of the civil and political conditions could not have been made, and without the inspiration and hope of victory which they breathed into the minds of their fellow-patriots, the war could not have been entered upon, or, if entered upon, been fought to a successful issue.

But the constant, large, and vigilant service of those who were graduates of the colleges, or who were their officers, did not exceed the enthusiastic interest of the students themselves. College students as a body are patriotic; they are moved by the spirit of the times. Their emotions are easily fired. With the patriotic movement of the period they were in the keenest sympathy. Students who spoke in the college debates and dialogues against the Americans were hissed or laughed at. In 1768, when the purchase of American goods was a test of patriotism, the members of the Senior class at Harvard voted unanimously to take their degrees in cloth manufactured in this country. The greatness of the British empire at the college Commencements previous to the seventh decade of the seventeenth century had been a common subject for the orators. After the passage of the Stamp Act the blessings of political liberty became a theme even more popular.

The colleges were, in a peculiar sense, in the midst of the struggle. With the exception of Dartmouth, which was remote from the field of contest, the work of each was somewhat interrupted. In Cambridge, within a few rods of the College Yard, Washington took command of the American forces. Men went from the College Yard or neighboring field to Bunker Hill. The scientific apparatus and the library of the College were removed for a time to Andover, and for some months instruction was given in Concord. In the dormitories troops were quartered.

In 1779 the British troops marched into New Haven. President Daggett, in attempting to harass them, became the victim of rather severe indignities. College work was frequently interrupted. The classes were dismissed in April, 1775, for weeks. In August of the next year they were again disbanded. The difficulty of procuring food in December, 1776, and the following January, and later, in 1777, compelled a vacation beginning about the first of April and continuing until the next fall. In February, 1779, President Stiles appealed to Governor Trumbull for flour, and from this time on until the close of the war it became more and more difficult to obtain supplies of any kind, either for the army or for the population, academic or general. One of the most critical battles of the war was fought in Princeton, and its Nassau Hall still bears marks of the conflict. Two cannon (which were used in the war, and were left after battle near the College) still stand on the campus. Princeton, on the highway between New York and Philadelphia, was naturally a place of peril. The surrender of Cornwallis's army was made near the campus of William and Mary, and the buildings of the College were used by Washington as a hospital. In King's College no Commencement was held between 1777 and 1786.

But the relation of the colonial college to the contest was not only one of debate or of geographical nearness. The colonial college sent its men, graduate and undergraduate, into the field. More than one-fourth of the nine hundred graduates of Yale College living at the time of the war entered the service. To call the names of those who served as generals or colonels or as other officers is to call the names of some of the worthiest of Yale's sons. Among them are David Wooster, Oliver Wollcott, Saltonstall, and many others of the best families of the southern New England colonies. Colonel Webb's Continental regiment has been referred to as a Yale corps. Graduates of every college were in the service as privates and as major generals. Some of them were shot, like Nathan Hale of Yale, 1773, as spies; some of them fell, like Joseph Warren of Harvard's Class of 1759, at Bunker Hill. But in whatever grade they served they usually bore themselves in ways worthy of their alma mater.

Within the college, however, as without, we find a few loyalists. The proportion, however, among the students was smaller than obtained in the general community. A Yale student who showed loyalist tendencies was dealt with by his class, and denounced as an enemy to his country. Some of the Tory students at Harvard were accustomed to bring India tea into the Commons and to show their loyalty by drinking it. The disturbance which resulted caused the authorities to give advice to the effect that India tea should not be carried into the Commons, "as it was a source of grief and uneasiness to many of the students, and as the use of it is disagreeable to the people of the country in general," and wishing "that harmony and peace might be preserved within the College walls, whatever convulsions unhappily disturb the state abroad."[1]

Not only in ways significant and impressive, but also in ways which, if obscure, were no less useful, the colonial college made itself of great worth in the great struggle for political freedom. The twenty-five hundred graduates living at the time of the outbreak of the war were serving the community not only as ministers, but also as merchants, small manufacturers, surveyors, justices of the peace, and in other forms of public or semi-public employment, for the professions of law and of medicine had not taken their present conspicuous place in the community. The work of the teacher and of the journalist attracted few adherents. Not far from one-half of the graduates were engaged in non-professional employments. Such men were able to give, and did give, no small share of their time and strength to the affairs of their town, county, and state. In 1775 the House of Assistance of New Haven, consisting of twelve citizens chosen at large, had eight graduates of Yale. All the County Court, and many of the Probate judges were also graduates. About one-half of the field officers of the militia in 1774 and 1775, a majority of the Revolutionary Council of Safety, had also been educated at Yale. Throughout Massachusetts and Connecticut graduates of the two colleges were the leaders and promoters in their chief towns of the movement for liberty. The

[1] Quincy's "History of Harvard University," vol. ii, p. 164.

larger share of those who from time to time attended the sessions of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia were graduates. About four-fifths of all the signers of the Declaration of Independence were liberally educated.

The nine colleges founded previous to the war, and especially the three oldest of them, made contributions to that war, and through that war, in its preparation and in its results, for the foundation and perpetuity of the American state, of incalculable value.

CHAPTER VII

BEGINNINGS OF THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

The War of Independence marked a revival of the national spirit. The score of years immediately following the treaty of peace represented the development of a new life, not only governmental, but also one comprehending all the elements of civilization. The growth of the collegiate spirit was quite as great as the development of the governmental, industrial, and social forces.

The collegiate spirit manifested itself in at least three forms: first, the desire of the individual states to found and to promote the higher education within their own borders; second, the desire of the national government to found and to promote the higher education independently of the divisions of states; and thirdly, the desire of the national government to found and promote the higher education by granting aid to the individual states. From the time of the foundation of Harvard the first form had been more or less in force. It now took on a more popular relation, eliminating religious and denominational limitations. The second form became especially progressive and forceful, but without effecting institutional results. The third form was new. From its beginning this form has increased in power, growing in impressiveness, energy, and breadth throughout the last century. The nine colleges which had been founded up to the time of the making of the Declaration of Independence were established in eight States, New Jersey alone having two institutions. But, with the exception of Delaware, each of the other four States presently began movements for the promotion of the higher education.

No one of these states preceded North Carolina in time or excelled it in the wisdom of offering facilities for the higher academic training.

In the constitution of North Carolina, bearing date of December 8, 1776, it is declared that all useful learning shall be duly encouraged or promoted in one or more universities. This clause is identical with the clause found in the constitution of Pennsylvania, adopted September 28th of the same year. The adoption of the North Carolina constitution was made in one of the dark periods of the great conflict. But the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, who had already established academies in the province, were not easily turned aside from their highest educational and ecclesiastical purposes. Throughout the time of the war the clause in the constitution regarding education was not put in force. But in the last month of the year 1789, following by a few days the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, the University of North Carolina was chartered. Those who were officially and personally concerned in the launching of the University represented the great men of the state. They included senators and representatives in Congress, governors, and judges.

Gifts from individuals and grants from the state presently followed. Colonel Benjamin Smith, who had been an aide to General Washington, and became subsequently Governor of the state, gave twenty thousand acres of land, which were in the year 1835 sold for fourteen thousand dollars; and Major Charles Gerrard gave thirteen hundred acres of land, which realized about forty thousand dollars. The General Assembly in 1791 made a loan of ten thousand dollars, which subsequently became an outright gift. Early in the following century two lotteries were established, which resulted in a profit of about five thousand dollars.

Slow was the progress, however. It was not until 1795 that the University was actually opened to students. The scholastic character impressed upon the University at its beginning was high. The curriculum was practically that prevailing in the older colleges of the North. It is significant that in 1801 French was made an alternative with Greek for admission.

The work of instruction was committed to two teachers. The Rev. David Curr, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, who had conducted a classical school at Fayetteville, North Carolina, was chosen professor of Humanity, and had the general charge.

He was teacher of Latin and Greek. A graduate of Princeton, Mr. Charles W. Harris, was made professor of mathematics. Side by side with the university itself was established a preparatory department.

The processes underlying the education given in the first decades of the University embodied a worthy educational theory. Professor Harris writes in 1795, saying, "The notion that true learning consists rather in exercising the reasoning faculties and laying up a store of useful knowledge than in overloading the memory with words of the dead languages, is becoming daily more prevalent."[1]

The interest and enthusiasm of the teachers were well supported by the trustees. The first books bought consisted principally of Latin and Greek classics, together with lexicons. Later in the same year of 1795 some simple physical apparatus was purchased, together with a set of surveying instruments. At this time, too, individuals began to make contributions, inaugurating a custom which has prevailed more fully in the University of North Carolina than in most state institutions.

The University, however, began its large and most significant work with the coming in 1796 of Joseph Caldwell. Joseph Caldwell was a graduate of Princeton in 1791. After serving the University of North Carolina for eight years as teacher he became president. Through him, as through Witherspoon at Princeton, the University came to occupy a significant place. A good mathematical scholar, his efforts were not confined to the classroom. His work was manifold and ceaseless. By personal solicitation he secured money for the completion of one of the early college buildings. In the year 1827 he built what was the first astronomical observatory in the United States. An executive, his greatest service to the state was of the type which the first President Dwight rendered to and through Yale College. He beat back that tide of atheistic influences which, in the opening years of the century, threatened to devastate colleges both north and south. Under his headship the University not only prospered but was the cause of educational and other pros-

[1] Smith's "History of Education in North Carolina," p. 65.

perity throughout the Commonwealth. In zeal for the establishment of schools and academies North Carolina was not in his time surpassed by a single state.[1]

Although the constitution of South Carolina, neither in 1776, 1778, nor 1790, made mention of education, yet the people themselves of the state early set about providing the facilities of a college training. As early as the year 1723 proposals were made in the legislature for establishing a college, but no result emerged. In 1769 a bill was drawn providing for the foundation of an institution which was called the College of South Carolina; but of this bill, too, nothing came. Two years after the treaty of peace the legislature passed an act for establishing three colleges, of which one was the college at Charleston. The college at Charleston was, as it still is, largely a local institution.

In 1801 was founded South Carolina College at Columbia. It represented the beginning of a noble academic influence. It was in its inception the result of the wisdom, energy, economic foresight, and public spirit of Paul Hamilton.

If the people of South Carolina have at various times been inclined to separate themselves from the Union, they were in the last decades of the eighteenth century inclined to separate themselves from each other. Between the years 1670 and 1750 the lower country was settled, but it was not until the middle of the century that the country above Columbia began to attract immigrants. The lower section of the country was in the middle of the century wealthy, and its people numbered many men of education. From the year 1750 to the year 1780 more than a hundred Americans were members of the Inns of Courts of London. These men came from all the colonies; but a greater number of them came from South Carolina than from any other province. But the upper section of the state had a greater number of people, even if less wealthy and less distinguished.

One purpose, therefore, of Paul Hamilton and his associates was to establish a college which might tend to unite the sections of the state, so separate in origin and in spirit. An act therefore was passed establishing the college at Columbia, and among

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[1] *North American Review*, January, 1821, pp. 33, 34.

the purposes noted in the act are that it will "highly promote the instruction, the good order, and the harmony of the whole community."[1] The generous sum of fifty thousand dollars was appropriated for a building, and for the expenses of each year six thousand dollars were granted. The salary of the president was placed at the large sum of twenty-five hundred dollars, and that of the professors of mathematics and of physics at fifteen hundred, while the other professors were to receive only one hundred dollars each.

The first president was Jonathan Maxcy. In Maxcy many and diverse conditions and elements seem united. Born in Massachusetts in 1768, he entered at the age of fifteen the college in Rhode Island, and graduated in 1787 with the highest honors of his class. Immediately made tutor, he held the place for four years. In 1792 he was chosen president of the college *pro tempore,* and six years after was elected to the permanent office. He served the college well until 1802. In 1802 he was chosen president of Union College, where he continued two years. The lack of a vigorous body gave to the invitation to become the first president of South Carolina College in 1804 a responsive hearing. Until his death in 1820 he continued in this place "with almost unprecedented popularity."[2] The presidency of three institutions, such as the college in Rhode Island, Union, and South Carolina, is absolutely unique. Dr. Maxcy was among the best metaphysical scholars of his time; he was one of the ablest of instructors, and, it may be added, that his reputation as a preacher was high. His ability as an executive, moreover, seems to have exceeded his ability in any other respect. To him, as to Caldwell of North Carolina, the college is vastly indebted. He was a man of unusual energy and progressiveness. In 1810 he urged that a professor of chemistry be appointed, and five years after he recommended that a professorship of political economy be established—so early was the endeavor made to offer instruction in new and great departments of learning.

Two years after the treaty of peace the Assembly of the

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[1] Meriwether's "Higher Education in South Carolina," p. 134.

[2] Guild's "History of Brown University," pp. 24, 25.

State of Georgia gave a charter to the University of Georgia. The charter breathes an especially free spirit. It was not the result of the deliberations of a body of ecclesiastics; nor was its purpose to unite different sections of the state; it was not the outcome of the energy of one man, even if that man be as able as Paul Hamilton; it had no relation to partisan politics. Forty thousand acres of wild land were appropriated to its endowment and support, but this endowment was of small value. It probably was not worth one thousand dollars. The gift, through the generosity of Governor John Milledge, of about six hundred acres of land determined its location. The land originally given by the state was sold; but payment not being made, the state, in the year 1815, came to the relief of the university. It was agreed that interest should be paid upon a hundred thousand dollars, at the rate of eight per cent, by the state to the university. In obedience to this arrangement the sum of eight thousand dollars has been each year paid to the university.

The progress of the University in its first decades was, in sympathy with the progress of the Commonwealth itself, slow. In the year of 1819 it is said "there were neither funds, professors, nor students."[1] But despite its occasional misfortunes the University in the first third of the nineteenth century alone and steadfastly held aloft the lamp of truth on the Southern frontier.

The attempt of Edward Palmer to found a university on an island in the Susquehanna, in the year 1624, was the first impulse given to the higher education in the territory now represented by Maryland. This attempt could not but fail. It was more than a century and a half before another attempt at all worthy was made. From time to time, in the hundred and fifty and more years, among the lonely and widely separated plantations was heard the voice of some one crying the evangel of education, but it was the voice of one crying in the wilderness. It aroused very little if any response. The widely dispersed population, the commercial interests of the settlers, the division into the Catholic and Protestant churches, united to prevent concerted and lasting action. The causes which prevented the es-

[1] Jones's "Education in Georgia," p. 47.

tablishment of colleges also prevented the establishment of academies; and the lack of academies in turn contributed to the failure to found colleges. The whole educational condition was bad. An exception is to be made of the few schools which were taught by clergymen. In point of intellectual power as well as moral character they were worthy educational leaders. But not a few of the schools were taught by servants, who were either convicts or under contract. In the year 1774, near Annapolis, there was offered at public sale a schoolmaster, an indented servant, who "is sold for no fault, any more than we have done with him." In the year 1777 a reward was offered for two runaways, one of whom is "a schoolmaster, of a pale complexion, with short hair." He is also described as suffering from a noisesome disease.[1] The larger share of all the education which the people of Maryland received up to nearly the outbreak of the Revolution was given by indented or convict servants.

But the close of the Revolution marked the beginning of the time for the establishment of institutions of the higher education. In 1784 was chartered the University of Maryland. The University of Maryland, the first of three institutions or combination institutions to bear the name, was composed of Washington College and of St. John's College. Washington College, the outgrowth of an academy, was established on the eastern shore of Chesapeake Bay, and two years after, to secure an equality of educational opportunity, was established on the western shore at Annapolis St. John's. The governing board was known as the Convocation of the University of Maryland. The board was large and its proposed methods of government clumsy. To each of the two institutions small grants were made by the state. The jealousy of the two colleges, the difficulty of travel, and the more important element of the lack of real interest in education soon caused the disintegration of the first university of Maryland. But though the university idea perished, each of the two constituting colleges continued. The progress which each made, however, was slow and the life that each lived feeble.

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[1] Steiner's "History of Education in Maryland," p. 34.

In the history of the colleges in the decades following the Revolution the association of one president at different times with more than one institution is worthy of note. William Smith, who was the chief officer in the university at Philadelphia, was the founder and first president of Washington College. Coming to Chestertown, the future site of the college, in 1780 as a clergyman, he presently undertook educational work. The crown of this work was the establishment of Washington College. The association of his name with the college seems to have been grateful to Washington. At the Commencement of 1784 Washington was present, and letters testify to his continued interest in the institution. On the restoration of its charter to the college in Philadelphia, Dr. Smith retired from the presidency and returned to Philadelphia. The history of the college for the first decades of the nineteenth century is a history of penury and disintegration.

The other constituent factor of the University of Maryland, St. John's, named, it has been suggested, from St. John's of Oxford, where some of its founders were students, has had a history more impressive than the college situated on the eastern shore. Placed at Annapolis, it has by good fortune had the advantage of closer relationship with human movements. Although these movements carried along in their turn the disadvantage of the charge of the costliness of the education given in St. John's, yet the advantage has proved greater than the disadvantage. The contribution which the College made to the affairs of the state and of the nation in its first years was impressive. On the programmes of the thirteen Commencements, from the first in 1793 to that of 1806, are found the names of four graduates who became governors of the state, of three who became United States senators and of five who became representatives, of four who became judges of the Court of Appeals, of one who became United States Attorney-General, and of not a few others who rendered conspicuous service to the nation. The author of "The Star-Spangled Banner," Francis Scott Key, here took his degree in 1796.

The state of Maryland, midway between the north and the south, gathered students from both regions. Louisiana, Georgia,

the Carolinas, and Virginia, as well as Pennsylvania and Delaware, were represented.

The second form in which the collegiate spirit manifested itself at the conclusion of the great war had its origin in the desire to found and to promote the higher education through a university of and for the new nation. This form embodied a distinctly national spirit. It represented the endeavor of the nation as a nation, without reference to the rights or duties of the individual states, to promote the cause of the higher education. The special form which this desire assumed was a plan to establish a national university.

In the Federal Convention of 1787 an attempt was made to give Congress powers over public education. Charles Pinckney, of the state which has not been inclined to subtract from its own rights in order to make an addition to the rights of the national government, especially promoted the endeavor to provide for a national university at the seat of government. But his endeavors, together with the endeavors of the president of the Convention, were without result. Constitutional objections apparently weighed with some of the members, and indifference to the whole subject prevailed with others.

But for the next thirty years the cause of a national university appears under diverse forms, although with one unvarying result. No one of the statesmen of the period following the Revolution held the purpose of founding and providing for a national university more close to his heart than Washington. In conversation, message, and other documents he insisted upon the importance of the plan. His insistence was that of the statesman, not of the politician desiring to win great results through temporary expediency. In a paragraph which he had thought of inserting in his farewell address, but which was not included, he says: " I mean education generally, as one of the surest means of enlightening and giving just ways of thinking to our citizens, but particularly the establishment of a university, where the youth from all parts of the United States might receive the polish of erudition in the arts, sciences, and *belles-lettres*; and where those who were disposed to run a political course might not only be instructed in the theory and prin-

ciples, but (this seminary being at the seat of the General Government) where the Legislature would be in session half the year, and the interests and politics of the nation of course would be discussed, they would lay the surest foundation for the practical part also.

"But that which would render it of the highest importance, in my opinion, is that during the juvenal period of life, when friendships are formed and habits established that stick by one, the youth or young men from different parts of the United States would be assembled together, and would by degrees discover that there was not that cause for those jealousies and prejudices which one part of the Union had imbibed against another part—of course, sentiments of more liberality in the general policy of the country would result from it."[1] In his will, also, Washington made a bequest toward the endowment of a university.

But Washington was not alone in his purpose. Jefferson desired that an amendment should be made to the Constitution in order that money might be appropriated to the establishment of a university. It was his belief that his suggestion for the amendment would meet with favorable and immediate response. Madison, too, in his second Annual Message, and seventh, as well as his last, urged its foundation. John Quincy Adams, a man whose life and work embodied as thoroughly as any president's the purposes and methods of a university, urged upon Congress its establishment. Directly or indirectly, the first six presidents seem to have favored, with a greater or less degree of earnestness, the foundation of a national university.

But the endeavors of the government were not confined to the executive. In the year 1811 a committee was appointed by Congress upon the question. The report of the committee was unfavorable on the ground of its unconstitutionality. Five years after another committee was appointed, and a similar result followed.

But the attempts were not limited to the government. Gentlemen as diverse in character and relationship as Dr. Benjamin Rush and Joel Barlow wrote and spoke in favor of the establish-

[1] "Report of the Commissioner of Education," 1892–93, vol. ii, p. 1302.

ment of the university. Dr. Rush indicated that to create a government which should exercise functions of public credit, regulate the militia, build a navy, and revive commerce, was hopeless without education. The kind of education most necessary for the carrying on of the government was the kind which could be secured by men meeting and spending two or three years together in a university, and afterwards carrying their knowledge and their principles to every part of the country. To make a foundation in any other way would be making a rope of sand. Joel Barlow, best known as a poet, although he was also a speculator and a politician, issued, in 1805, a prospectus for a national institution. The prospectus seems to have met with much favor. But when the consequent bill was introduced into the Senate of the United States, it soon passed into silent forgetfulness.

For a generation, therefore, the American people at different times, under diverse conditions, through the executive, through members of the national Legislature, and through citizens, sought to establish a national university. By not a few of the wisest the force of the truth of a sentence in Washington's farewell address was recognized: "In proportion as the structure of government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened." Many people believed that a university established at the seat of government, endowed and conducted by the government, would enlighten public opinion. But every attempt, even at its best estate, was remote from success. From the close of the administration of the second President Adams until the end of the Paris Exposition, in 1873, the idea of the establishment of a national university was not generally discussed. The results of that World's Fair revealed to America that its best universities did not compare favorably with the universities of Europe. The American spirit was quickened. The quickening of the American spirit resulted in an endeavor to found a national university. But these endeavors have also proved resultless. It may now be added that the purpose of the whole scheme, for at least apparently some years, was in part gained by the establishment in Washington, in the year of 1902, by Andrew Carnegie, of the Institution which

bears his great name. In the preamble of the articles of incorporation of that body it is said that the incorporators desire to establish and to maintain "in the spirit of Washington, an institution for promoting original research in science, literature, and art." This comprehensive purpose, which moved the founders of the Republic, including Washington himself, may be now in the way of accomplishment through an expenditure which a hundred years ago it was thought could be made only by the government itself. Yet the project of establishing a national university will from time to time emerge until an actual foundation be made.

The third form in which the national interest in education has manifested itself consists in the aid given to the individual states for its promotion. This form represents the most important of all the national endeavors. This method declared itself at the very beginning of the nation, and was again made evident in a most impressive way at a time, about two generations after, when the greatest of civil questions was submitted to the decision of battle. The value of this one form of the national interest in the higher education still continues, and will continue so long as the nation is a nation.

The physical embodiment of this method of national aid was found in land. Down to the beginning of the last century land had been the chief form in which large property had been invested. Land, therefore, has necessarily represented the principal endowment of colleges and universities. The colleges of Oxford and Cambridge illustrate this method and form of endowment. The University of Upsala received its greatest endowment from Gustavus Adolphus, in the form of the lands or income thus derived, an advantage which the historic institution still enjoys. The legislatures of Massachusetts and of Connecticut have at various times granted tracts of land to their various colleges. It was therefore natural for the general government to use land as a means of the promotion of the higher education in the individual states.

Seven of the thirteen original states, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, near the beginning of the Revolutionary War,

advanced claims to the whole west extending as far as the Mississippi and the Great Lakes, north of parallel thirty-one. The other states resisted these claims. It was affirmed that the western territory was to be won by a united effort from a common enemy; the results of victory therefore should belong to all. From time to time the claims thus made were surrendered, and the territory came under the control of the nation. The withdrawal of these claims laid upon Congress the duty of the settlement and control of the territory. From such control the public domains of Kentucky and Tennessee were especially excepted. In April, 1783, propositions were drawn up by Colonel Thomas Pickering in reference to the creation of a new state in the Northwest Territory by officers and soldiers of the Revolutionary army.

In the year 1776, and also in the year 1780, Congress offered bounties in land to those who might enlist. A colonel was to receive five hundred acres, a lieutenant colonel four hundred and fifty, a major four hundred, a captain three hundred, a lieutenant two hundred, an ensign one hundred and fifty, and a private one hundred. The amounts promised to a major general and to a brigadier general were respectively eleven hundred and fifty and eleven hundred. The promises thus made, Congress desired to keep. Not a few, too, of the soldiers had not received their pay for service. The desire, therefore, that the government should maintain its covenants, and the desire also for the development of the nation, were closely related.

The proposition, therefore, of Colonel Pickering was to the effect that Congress should purchase of the Indians a certain tract of the Northwest Territory, and that from this tract grants should be made to the officers and soldiers who had served in the federal army. The proposition thus made by Colonel Pickering contains the first suggestion regarding the use of land for public educational endowment. The suggestion offered in 1783 did not become a law until two years later. In the ordinance passed in 1785 it is declared that Lot Number Sixteen of every township shall be reserved for the maintenance of public schools within that township. Two years later, on the 13th of July, 1787, Congress passed an ordinance for the government of the

territory northwest of the River Ohio. This ordinance has become known as the Ordinance of 1787. This Ordinance was perhaps the most important piece of fundamental legislation ever made for or by the American people. The territory covered what is now embraced in the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. It prohibited slavery. It declared for freedom of religion. It affirmed the writ of *habeas corpus,* the right of jury trial, of proportional representation, and it provided for the maintenance of the obligation of contracts. But it also included above all else the enactment " that religion, morals, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools, and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." Ten days after its passage Congress also declared that Lot Sixteen in each township should be given for purposes of education, and Lot Number Twenty-nine for purposes of religion. It also affirmed that no more than two complete townships are to be given for the purpose of a university. Thus was inaugurated the national policy for the endowment of the higher educational institutions, and the lower, through the granting of land.

Under the rights thus given, a million and a half of acres on the north side of the Ohio River were presently sold to the Ohio Company of Associates. The educational provisions of this ordinance and the powers granted had a specific territorial application. But the principles which underlay the geographical grant have had a much wider and a more fundamental relationship. The action thus taken has proved to be both an example and an inspiration for the making of similar grants to and for the states as they have entered into the Union.

Following the purchase made by the Ohio Company of Associates, a purchase was made by John Cleves Symmes, in which one township was reserved for a university, and not two, as in the case of the Ohio Company; but the grants made for the schools and the church remained the same. Since the year 1800, each state admitted into the Union, with the exception of Maine, Texas, and West Virginia, has received at least two townships of land for the purpose of founding a university.

Under the laws thus passed, there had been granted to the

states or reserved to territories, for universities or seminaries of higher learning, from the beginning to the middle of the year 1900, somewhat more than a million acres of land. The number of grants and reservations made for common-school purposes has been more than sixty-seven millions, and for agricultural and mechanical colleges about ten millions.

For the use for purposes of education, common and higher, of so large a part of its domain, the nation is indebted to Manasseh Cutler. The authorship of the Ordinance of 1787 is still a matter of doubt; but that Manasseh Cutler was the author of the more significant part of this great document is evident.

Manasseh Cutler was born in Connecticut in 1742, and graduated at Yale College in 1765. The son of a farmer, he seems to have embodied the strongest and best elements that belong to the simple life of the early New England community. He possessed broad intellectual interests. He was a minister, a lawyer, and a physician. He was best known, however, as a scientist. As a scientist he was most deeply interested in astronomy and botany. It may also be said that he was a statesman. Washington appointed him a judge of the Supreme Court of the Northwest Territory, an appointment which he declined. For four years he was a member of the lower house of Congress. He served also as a chaplain in the Revolutionary army. By reason of his service as a chaplain, and his consequent interest in the soldiers, and by reason of his larger interest in the government and its development, he was efficient in the formation of the Ohio Company of Associates. He was eager that the Ordinance of 1787 should become a fundamental law, and he also desired that the purchase of land in Ohio should be made from his company. Both ordinance and the purchase were parts of the same movement. If the ordinance had not been passed by Congress there would have been no prospect for the sale of land; and the Ohio Company would not have bought land unless they were assured that those who should buy it and live upon it should be under a proper constitutional and legal jurisdiction. The motive that led to the passing of the law helped to the securing of the purchasers, and the motive that led to the securing of purchasers promoted the passing of the Ordi-

nance. In securing this double aim Manasseh Cutler was most influential. To him above all other men belongs the priceless honor of the introduction of the land system of educational endowment.

The system which was thus inaugurated has been ordinarily used by each state as it has been admitted to the Union. Ohio was the first to apply the method and to receive the benefits of its operation. In 1802 the legislature of the Northwest Territory passed an act establishing a university, and giving to it in trust the grant of two townships of land. The charter was prepared by Dr. Cutler, although he himself was never a permanent resident of Ohio. In the proposed charter Dr. Cutler recognized that institutions for the liberal education of youth are essential to the progress of the arts and sciences, important to morals and religion, and friendly to the best order and prosperity of society. He also proposed that the law-making body should establish a university to be known as the American University. It should be governed by a Board of Trustees, which Board should have power to appoint all teachers in the University, and to make all proper rules for its government. This Board should be a close corporation, choosing its own members. The establishing of the course of instruction should be committed, together with the president and vice-president, to the actual teachers. To the Board also was given authority to manage the two townships set aside for the purposes of the University. It also had authority for holding real estate, provided that the annual income should not exceed forty thousand dollars, or the income of their property fifty thousand. Such are the main provisions which Dr. Cutler included in the fundamental act chartering the American University.

The lawmaking body, however, altered one fundamental element in the proposed charter. The legislature determined that the corporation should not be a close one, and that the successors of the first incumbents should be chosen by the legislature, and also decreed that no limit was to be placed upon the amount of property which the corporation might hold. The first of these two alterations is profoundly significant. It transferred the relation of what came to be known as Ohio University, and located

at the spot significantly known as Athens, from belonging to the class of private colleges into an institution having direct relation to the state. The change thus embodied the beginning of a movement which has proved to be of the utmost value and of pregnant significance.

For the forty years from 1820 to 1860 appeals were frequently made to Congress from many states asking for aid for educational purposes; but these appeals were met with refusal. Congress made to each state at the time of its admission a liberal donation from the public domain. It has therefore declined to grant further aid for educational purposes more or less heterogeneous. It has declared that each state should provide for its educational needs from its own resources. Such has been the policy maintained with only infrequent and insignificant exceptions, and based upon what have seemed to be sufficient grounds. It should be added, however, that the Federal Government has from time to time made grants for general purposes to the individual states, as in the Swamp Land Act of 1849, and in the several acts giving three, five, and ten per cent of the land sales. Many of the states have devoted these revenues to educational purposes.

In the score of years, therefore, following the treaty of peace of 1783, the interest of the people in the higher education was manifest in at least three significant forms. The individual states were concerned with the establishment and endowment of their own colleges. The national government was interested in the promotion of the higher education as a concern for and of the people. This interest was largely manifest in the desire to establish a national university. The government also showed its regard for the endeavor through the granting of aid to the individual states for the promotion of education of every sort, especially for the endowment of universities. In these three forms and under these diverse conditions the American college and university came to occupy a large and impressive place. Its relation to the church became less intimate, its relation to the people far more intimate and important. It came to represent and to embody the democratic spirit of a democratic nation. It ceased to be the organ of a class; it became an institution of the republic.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FRENCH PERIOD

The English and the native forces making for the higher education were not the only forces at work; coöperating with them were other foreign influences. These influences were largely, in their origin, movement, and condition, French. For the second time in the history of America forces other than English moved upon its educational policy. Paris continued the work previously done by the graduates of Leyden and of Utrecht.

The aid which France gave to the colonies in and after the year 1778 was not simply of men and of ships. Whatever was her motive in aiding in the establishment of the American Commonwealth, the result was an increase of her influence. This influence was rather of ideas, forms of government and of education, than of military prestige or of commercial advantage. For the projection of intellectual forces into the new world she was better fitted than for the transplanting of material potencies. France was, at the beginning of the last quarter of the eighteenth century, standing midway between the fading light of the careers of Voltaire and Rousseau, and the rising day of the Encyclopædists. She was moved at once by the pen of the historian and by the voice of the prophet. These intellectual influences were preëminently concerned with education. For France, overturning the church and its allied interests, seeking to make all things new, increased the attention paid to education. Education came to be recognized as the one comprehensive force which could create, nourish, and perpetuate the new Republic. Men of reasonableness, who could not accept extreme theories, who abhorred the excesses into which the Revolution with each turn was rapidly moving, found in education as a theory a subject for worthy contemplation, and in education as a move-

ment a resource and power for the restraining of men's thought and actions. Such men as Condorcet, among the ablest of all the promoters of the Revolution, who himself became a victim of its excesses, Sieyès, and others were appointed as committees on public instruction. They and many other citizens published papers upon education—primary, secondary, and university. Each of these papers gave rise to other papers. Literature concerning education from 1789 to 1795 is most voluminous as well as impressive.[1] The education which was under diverse forms proposed was invariably an education by, of, and for the state. It represented the whole body of the people concerned with this most serious endeavor and form of life. No subject was considered more important, no method demanded the wisdom of the people more constantly, and no force was regarded as so powerful for securing the richest results in the individual and in the community.

Such a conception of education united easily and naturally with the national conception maintained in the new American Commonwealth. The new American Commonwealth was concerned with its own existence, development, and perpetuity. It had come to know that no form of ecclesiasticism, however broad or forceful, was of breadth or power sufficient to secure the richest results. It therefore turned to education as the one human condition and force which was sufficiently ample in resource, wise in method, and high in aim to save and to enrich the state. An education of such a character was naturally an education of, for, and by the whole people.

The method, purpose, and power, therefore, of the French nation were one with the method, purpose, and power of the new American nation.

It is impossible to estimate with justice the influence of the French condition over the American. The evidence indicates, however, that the influence for the last decades of the eighteenth and the first decade of the nineteenth centuries was vital, and in many respects formative.

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[1] "Proces-Verbaux du Comité d'Instruction Publique de la Convention Nationale," publiés et annotés par M. J. Guillaume, Paris, 1891, tome [illegible]

French books were read somewhat in the states, and these books put into English were read largely. The Encyclopædia of Diderot and his associates was read more than other volumes. Both as cause and result of the presence of French books, instruction in the French language began to be offered in three or four colleges. As early as 1735, for a brief time French was taught at Harvard, but it was not till 1780 that the language secured a place of comparative permanence in the curriculum. In that year, the year that marked the adoption of the constitution of Massachusetts and the establishment of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, Simon Poulin was authorized to teach French. The fee for the tuition was a special charge in the term bills. Two years after, Albert Gallatin was authorized also to teach the language. In 1797 students who were excused from the study of Hebrew were required to study French; but presently the courses offered were withdrawn, and it was not until the establishment of the Smith chair in 1815 that the instruction was renewed. A chair of French was established at Columbia in 1779, at William and Mary in 1793, and at Union in 1806.

In the midst of the Revolution, Silas Deane, who in 1776 had been sent to Paris in behalf of the new nation, proposed to President Stiles the establishment of a professorship of French in Yale and indicated his willingness to make a collection of French books. But the offer was without result. The corporation of the Rhode Island College, in 1784, made an endeavor to secure the establishment of a chair by Louis XVI. In the application, which is signed by the chancellor and the president of the College, it is said: "Ignorant of the French language, and separated as we were by more than mere distance of countries, we too imbibed the prejudices of the English—prejudices which we have renounced since we have had a nearer view of the brave army of France, who actually inhabited this College edifice; since which time our youth seek with avidity whatever can give them information respecting the character, genius, and influence of a people they have such reason to admire; a nation so eminently distinguished for polished humanity.

"To satisfy this laudable thirst for knowledge nothing was wanting but to encourage and diffuse the French language; and

that not merely as the principal means of rendering an intercourse with our brethren of France more easy and beneficial, but also for spreading far and wide the history of the so celebrated race of kings, statesmen, philosophers, poets, and benefactors of mankind which France has produced.

"As no king will be held by us in so lasting and so dear a remembrance, so there is no name we are more desirous of repeating as the founder of the French language and history in this country than your Majesty's, and that, too, as much from gratitude to your Majesty as profit to ourselves."[1] This application, which was transmitted through the delegates of Rhode Island in Congress, came, in the year 1787, into the hands of Jefferson. But Jefferson in his reply made it very clear that the formal presentation of the petition would have been unavailing.

But French influence was conveyed with greater force and to a larger constituency by personalities than by books. The presence of Frenchmen, either as military officers or as travelers, embodied this influence. Not a few of the soldiers who came simply to fight against England, remained after the conclusion of the war. To-day their descendants form a most honorable part of the complex population. Not a few travelers, too, visited the country for the purpose of observation. The most famous of these was Rochefoucauld, and the most valuable possibly of all the books which resulted was that written by Dupont de Mours, published in Paris in 1800, on national education in the United States. This book was written at the request of Thomas Jefferson. It undoubtedly served to impress the idea of a comprehensive and state-controlled system of education upon the people of the new nation.

But the Americans who were for a time living in France represented an influence yet more potent than Frenchmen who traveled in or wrote about America. Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson were the most conspicuous of such men. Without doubt Franklin was more impressive to Frenchmen than Frenchmen were to him; but Adams and Jeffer-

[1] "Brown University and Manning," Guild, p. 351.

son were profoundly affected by French influence, and that influence they bore to the new world. The American Philosophical Society was founded at Philadelphia in the year 1769; it embodied the English tradition. The American Academy of Arts and Sciences was incorporated by the legislature of Massachusetts; it represented the French type. The founders of the Academy have put on record their intention to give to the Academy the air of France rather than that of England. John Adams has said that it was conversations which he held with Frenchmen in Paris that gave to him the idea of the Academy, and he also has declared that through the same conversations he gained aid for the framing of the provisions in relation to literature and education which he incorporated into the constitution of Massachusetts. The Academy was founded in the year in which the constitution of Massachusetts was adopted.[1]

Yet Thomas Jefferson embodied the French tradition more thoroughly than the Massachusetts statesman. The University of Virginia which he founded, as well as other institutions, for a time at least, preëminently bore the French likeness. It was in institutions representing great personalities that the French influence was most permanently and significantly represented.

In the year 1794 the Faculty of the University of Geneva, becoming discontented with certain political movements, indicated their willingness to come to America. The proposition made a strong appeal to the mind of Jefferson. Jefferson submitted the question to Washington. Washington, who had also heard of the project through John Adams, opposed the immigration. In the mind of Washington the project had relation to his own scheme for the formation of a national university. On the ground, therefore, that the plan for a national university was not so well matured as to justify hope of coöperation with the Swiss faculty, he opposed the movement. But, in addition, Washington believed that the transplanting of a whole faculty was not wise. For its members might not all be of a character, or have an acquaintance with the English language, suitable for doing the duties owed to the new Republic. He also intimated

[1] "Works of John Adams," vol. iv, pp. 259, 260.

that the Swiss professors had been opposed by the popular party, and that their coming to America might be interpreted as an aristocratic movement. He further declared that the coming of the Geneva faculty might prevent the election of teachers from other countries who might be superior. The common sense of Washington in regard to an academic question was as conspicuous as in respect to governmental. The project was dropped from the minds of all men excepting that of Jefferson, with whom the thought of bringing teachers from the universities of the old world to the new lingered till his death.

It cannot be doubted, too, that French influence pervaded the formation of what is known as the University of the State of New York. The University of the State of New York is not a local institution; it is a method for the administration of the schools and colleges in the state of New York. It represents the centralization of control which characterized the French movement. Although its special father was Alexander Hamilton, it yet embodies the spirit and motive of his rival, the great Virginian. It has little or no relation to the English or Dutch forces which had prevailed in the state. It stands for the educational revolution which passed over the state near the close of the Revolutionary period. If John Adams bore the French influence to Massachusetts and Thomas Jefferson to Virginia, it was John Jay who, returning from Paris to New York in 1784, carried that same influence to his state and caused it to prevail in the organization of the higher education.

But the institution which for a time most directly and vividly embodied the French influence was the Academy of Sciences and Arts of the United States of America. Of this institution little is now known, except as this little is embodied in a slight volume of which only three copies are supposed to exist in America. Among the scholarly Frenchmen who came to America in the year 1778 was one Chevalier Quesnay de Beaurepaire. Chevalier Quesnay was of distinguished lineage. He was the grandson of the French philosopher and economist who also served as physician to Louis XIV. Through illness he was compelled to retire from the army. In the new country which he came to know he saw an opportunity of building up a national

and international institution of the highest order. The point at which he decided to plant his institution was Virginia, but branch organizations were to be placed at Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. It was also to have affiliations with societies in Paris, London, and Brussels. It was to be a body of scholars organized for purposes of research and also for purposes of teaching. The research was apparently to be largely of a scientific character touching the physical world of North America. Collections were to be gathered, and a part of these collections were to be sent to the museums and capitals of Europe. The publication of the results of scientific research was to be made and widely distributed. Experts were to be brought from Europe, and in particular from Paris, who should serve at once as teachers, and also as investigators and as members of scientific commissions. The budget was in its first instance made up of subscriptions of Virginia families. Much éclat, apparently, attended Quesnay's project. In the year 1786, in Richmond, the corner stone of its building was laid. Six counselors were chosen to act, with Quesnay as president. Among them were Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Randolph. Soon after making the formal organization Quesnay returned to Paris in order to promote the interests of the new foundation. Among those whom he succeeded in interesting in his project were Beaumarchais, the King's secretary, Condorcet, Lafayette, Malesherbes, Vernet, Rochefoucauld. In London he secured the coöperation of two men who had relation to both England and America, Thomas Paine and Benjamin West.

But as the scheme of Quesnay advanced, another movement also, of yet larger relationship, was in progress. In the year 1788 France was not in a condition to promote an educational foundation in Virginia. The arrangements which Quesnay made for instituting no less than sixteen schools, covering as many fields of knowledge, proved to be only provisional. One professor was appointed, and only one. He bore the name of Dr. Jean Rouelle. At this point Quesnay's splendid endeavor began to fall into oblivion. It was arranged for Rouelle to sail for America early in October, 1788, but it is doubtful if he ever departed. The building, the corner stone of which was laid in 1786, was finished, but

it never served as a place for the assembling of French scholars. It was however used two years after its foundation as a place of meeting of the Virginia Convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States. Thus began and thus ended the most brilliant and daring project of the higher education ever put forth by a foreigner, or possibly a native, in the new world.

On the tombstone of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello it is declared that he was the author of the Declaration of Independence, of the statute of Virginia for religious freedom, and father of the University of Virginia. The University of Virginia represents, in a way as permanent as Quesnay's scheme was brilliant, the force of the French influence. It also represents the lasting personality of one who was more deeply touched by French influence than any other of the earlier men of the Republic—Thomas Jefferson. For the half century covering the period from the writing of the Declaration of Independence to the close of his life, the thought of founding a university controlled by the state was not for a long time absent from the mind and heart of Thomas Jefferson. Himself trained under exceptionally favorable influences by a Scotch mathematician and scientist, who was a professor at William and Mary College, by a lawyer to whom John Marshall was a student, and by the governor of the Colony, the ablest politician of the time, he desired to found an institution which should incorporate the best influences of science, of Constitutional law, of diplomacy. He desired that a system of general instruction should be established which should be open to all the people. Toward the close of his career he declared that as the interest in education was the earliest, so it should be the latest of all the public concerns in which he allowed himself to participate. He also defines the purposes of the higher education with a breadth becoming the writer of the Declaration of Independence:

"(1) To form the statesmen, legislators, and judges, on whom public prosperity and individual happiness are so much to depend;

"(2) To expound the principles and structure of government, the laws which regulate the intercourse of nations, those formed municipally for our own government, and a sound spirit of legislation, which, banishing

all unnecessary restraint on individual action, shall leave us free to do whatever does not violate the equal rights of another;

"(3) To harmonize and promote the interests of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and by well-informed views of political economy to give a free scope to the public industry;

"(4) To develop the reasoning faculties of our youth, enlarge their minds, cultivate their morals, and instil into them the precepts of virtue and order;

"(5) To enlighten them with mathematical and physical sciences, which advance the arts, and administer to the health, the subsistence, and comforts of human life;

"(6) And, generally, to form them to habits of reflection and correct action, rendering them examples of virtue to others, and of happiness within themselves." [1]

For the realization of these great aims Jefferson labored for the almost score of years following his retirement from the presidency. The history of his propaganda is in its assiduity and length quite as unique as the brilliant project of Quesnay.

In an age when colleges were usually founded by and under the control of a church, Jefferson, himself a man of free notions in religion, founded a university absolutely free from sectarian or similar conditions. In a time when what is now known as the required system of studies usually prevailed, he established a university in which the elective system ruled. In a new world free from architectural traditions, the buildings of his university embodied varying types of classical architecture. In a country and nation which was seeking to build itself up apart from European models, he called into the service no less than four professors from England. Scholarly prestige, an advantage which the New England colleges had long enjoyed, he sought to transfer by the election of George Ticknor, of Harvard College, and of Nathaniel Bowditch. The great result manifest in the University of Virginia, which Jefferson himself saw as in a dream, was secured by manifold labors. The breadth of the diplomatist, the vision and prevision of the statesman, the en-

[1] Herbert B. Adams's "Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia," p. 89.

thusiasm of the scholar, and the love of humanity of the public servant, were united in his endeavor to lay the foundation. Opposition, persistent and varied, he overcame. Those who felt that the ruin of Jefferson's *alma mater* was threatened by the establishment of the University of Virginia, and by the antagonism, too, of those who opposed the favoring of one part of the state above another, were met by recondite or by open argument. The argument of the advantages of the higher education as a form of individual enterprise, an argument supported by Adam Smith and Dugald Stewart, was opposed by the presentation of liberal views concerning the function of the people. Into his service as a constant and great helper came Joseph Carrington Cabell. To Cabell, trained at William and Mary, in French and Italian universities, in certain relations quite as thoroughly as Jefferson, belongs the honor of the great establishment. Through the energy and wisdom of these two men sectional and personal rivalries were vanquished, indifference was quickened to enthusiasm, intolerance silenced, and the lethargy of the people aroused to action. The endeavor was the labor of patriots; the cause was the quest of crusaders. At last, in the year 1825, was consummated the long process of the establishing of the University of Virginia. It embodied the life work of one of the greatest of Americans, and also the influence of the French nation over the higher education in America. From the time of its foundation until the present, it has represented a unique and precious influence in all America, and especially in the Southern States. It embodies with special significance the union of two influences which have prevailed in the foundation of many colleges, the personal and the civil. It was the child of Thomas Jefferson, and it bears the name of Virginia.

The French influence was also quite as manifest in the first beginnings of the University of Michigan as in the foundation of the University of Virginia. Michigan, in its origin and social relationships, was French as well as English. The first number of the Detroit *Gazette,* published in 1817, was printed partly in French and partly in English. In the number of August 8th, there was published in French an appeal to the Frenchmen of the territory, as follows:

"You ought to begin immediately to give an education to your children. In a little time there will be in this Territory as many Yankees as French, and if you do not have your children educated the situations will all be given to the Yankees. No man is capable of serving as a civil and military officer unless he can at least read and write. There are many young people of from eighteen to twenty years who have not yet learned to read, but they are not yet too old to learn. I have known those who have learned to read at the age of forty years."

In the same month of August it was enacted that there should be established a Catholepistemiad, or University. The name itself is mongrel, but significant; the name covered an institution still more mongrel and significant. The institution was to be composed of thirteen Didaxiim, or professorships. But the most impressive part of the whole undertaking was that this method of educational organization was simply a transfer of the organization of state instruction which Napoleon gave to France in 1806 and 1808. The name of Napoleon was still a name to conjure with. Although he was in the second year of his exile at St. Helena, his career still seemed to be brilliant and impressive. The memory of the two wars fought with England served to deepen the sympathy with Napoleon and to promote an appreciation and application of the educational methods of the nation which had been conquered by our own political enemy and his allies. Governor Cass and Judge Woodward of Michigan were influenced, although not so completely or so impressively, by French ideas as was the sage of Monticello.

But the scheme in Michigan, like the scheme of Quesnay of a generation earlier, was weakened by over-ambitious elements. The real beginning of the higher education in the territory had to wait for a score of years.

CHAPTER IX

COLLEGES OF AND FOR AN ADVANCING PEOPLE

At the time that the French influence was touching the higher education in respect to the content of instruction and in particular in respect to a centralized method of organization and administration, at the time too that the national movement for education was emphasizing itself in several ways, the cause of individual or local education was advancing. The field of advance was found on the constantly changing frontier of the constantly enlarging population. The new settlements of the last generation of the eighteenth and of the first of the nineteenth century were quite as eager for the establishment of colleges to minister to their special needs as were the people of Massachusetts Bay in the year of 1636.

Several colleges which sprang up at this time were the outgrowth of local needs, commonly qualified by religious or denominational conditions. But in the laying of these foundations it is commonly found that a vigorous personality emerges. The force of such a personality was necessary for the uniting and projecting of the educational cause into a definite and permanent result. The colleges thus founded were usually, although not always, the outgrowth of schools already established. Williams, Union, Hampden-Sidney, Hamilton, Jefferson, and Washington represent conditions which were first ministered unto by free schools or academies. In the case of education, as of most human affairs, the filling of certain needs, it was found, resulted in the creation of further needs also awaiting satisfaction. The increase of population, moreover, and the enlargement of the facilities for intercourse and of means for good living, made educational opportunities possible which were denied to a scattered and indigent people.

Williams College was the successor of a free school estab-

lished through the bequest of Colonel Ephraim Williams. Colonel Williams, who fell fighting the French and the Indians in 1755, bequeathed his little fortune to found a school. Its trustees nursed the few thousand dollars for thirty years. The success of the school, opened in 1791, was so great that its governors asked for a charter for a college. Among the reasons adduced for the right to lay a collegiate foundation are: "Your memorialists further show, that there are several circumstances attending the Free School in Williamstown that are peculiarly favorable to a seminary of a more public and important nature. It is in a part of the country that abounds with a variety of the most substantial articles of provision, and, being remote from any public market, such articles of provision may always be afforded at a low price. This will naturally tend to lessen the expenses of instruction, and to render the means of a liberal education more easy, and bring them more within the power of the middling and lower classes of citizens. Williamstown, being an inclosed place, will not be exposed to those temptations and allurements which are peculiarly incident to seaport towns; a rational hope may therefore be indulged that it will prove favorable to the morals and literary improvement of youth who may reside there."[1]

It is also significant that within a dozen years of the adoption of the constitution of 1780, the prosperity of the state of Massachusetts was adduced as a reason for the establishment of the College. Therefore, "Your memorialists ask leave further to observe, that Yale and Dartmouth Colleges are both of them nearer to the county of Berkshire than Cambridge. Most of the youths in the counties of Hampshire and Berkshire who obtain a liberal education are sent to one or the other of these colleges, by means of which large sums of money are sent out of this Commonwealth for the purposes of education. The southerly part of Berkshire is contiguous to Connecticut. The town of Williamstown is bordering upon the most fertile parts of the States of New York and Vermont. If, therefore, a college was instituted in that town, such is its local position that great num-

[1] Durfee's, "History of Williams College," pp. 62, 63.

bers of youth would probably resort there from the adjacent States, for the purpose of obtaining a liberal education. This would furnish an opportunity of diffusing our best habits and manners among the citizens of our sister States. It would, at the same time, be a resource of wealth, and add to the influence and wealth of Massachusetts. There being already two colleges within the Commonwealth, cannot, as we humbly conceive, be a reasonable objection against the addition of a third, especially as the interest of the last, from its local situation, cannot interfere with either of the former. The interests of the whole will perfectly coincide, and, like a threefold cord, mutually confirm and strengthen each other.'' [1]

The petitioners were also willing to do what they could, not only toward giving to Massachusetts an intellectual supremacy, but they further declare: '' We hope that it is a laudable wish we indulge of seeing Massachusetts the Athens of the United States of America, to which young gentlemen, from any part of the Union, may resort for instruction in all the branches of useful and polite literature; and we cannot entertain the least doubt but that the object of our present memorial perfectly coincides with the object of such a wish.'' [2]

The reasons thus urged with such discrimination and persuasiveness prevailed, and a charter was given to the college in Williamstown.

The establishment of a second institution in the state of William and Mary College was contemporaneous with the establishment of the second and third colleges in the state of Harvard. Hampden-Sidney was, like Williams, the outgrowth of a school. As Prince Edward Academy it formed one of the series of log colleges which had rendered good service to the sparse frontier population of Virginia and Pennsylvania. In 1783 the Academy became a college, and took on the name of two great patriots. The patriotic spirit was, in 1783, more aggressive than the Presbyterian, but behind the College lay the consecration and devotion to higher learning of the Scotch-Irish race. Hampden-

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[1] Durfee's "History of Williams College," p. 63.
[2] Ibid., p. 64.

Sidney was in a sense the child of Princeton. Its first presidents were graduates of the New Jersey college, and its first body of trustees represented the ecclesiastical affiliation of Princeton.

The regents of the University of the State of New York have proved themselves more solicitous to provide the proper financial and other support for a college before granting to it the right to be, than the governors of the educational interests of any other Commonwealth. Their solicitude has been wise. Seven years before the creation of the Board of Regents in 1779, an attempt was made to establish a college in or near Schenectady. The petitioners declare that the call is loud for men of learning to fill office in church and state. They also declare that "the town of Schenectady [is] in every respect the most suitable and commodious site for a seminary of learning in this state, or perhaps in America,"[1] but the petition was without result. A second attempt was made in the year 1782. Poverty and war could not destroy the enthusiasm of the people for the higher education. Three years later a private academy was established. In the year 1794 a petition was made which did result in the foundation of Union College. This foundation was significant in its name. It represented the intention of joining together all the sects in a common interest for the common good.

In the constant westward movement of population, Hamilton College in turn sprang into being. It also was the successor of Hamilton-Oneida Academy. In its establishment, as in the establishment of almost every institution, appears a great personality. Samuel Kirkland was, like Wheelock of Lebanon and of Dartmouth, an educational pioneer and hero. Burning with enthusiasm to convert the Indians, he went from Princeton College, at about the age of twenty-four, to bear the gospel to the Six Nations. But this purpose broadened into a work of the higher education for all men. The College, when finally founded in 1812, bore the name not of Kirkland but of Hamilton, but into it had passed the life of the great founder.

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[1] "History of the Higher Education in the State of New York," by Sidney Sherwood, p. 199.

On a frontier yet more remote Jefferson College and Washington College were founded. From log-cabin schools to academies, from academies to colleges, and, in the case of Washington and Jefferson, from colleges to a union of colleges represent the succession. The Presbyterians who came to western Pennsylvania, like those who were pastors of the churches in eastern Pennsylvania and New York, believed that the higher education and religion should go hand in hand. If the institutions of the higher education were not established the churches would be without pastors, and pastorless churches could not flourish. They therefore built the dormitory as well as the meeting-house. Out of such conditions, near the close of the Revolutionary War, sprang Jefferson College and also Washington. They were situated within seven miles of each other. Rivalry helped to overcome the disadvantages of extreme poverty. Toward the support of the colleges men contributed wheat, rye, and corn, from one to five bushels each, and women cloth, from one to six yards each. One subscription was made in whisky. In the year 1802 Jefferson College, and in 1806 Washington College, were chartered. For a half century they existed side by side, each ministering to its constituency.

Another similar interpretation belongs to the establishment of two colleges in the state of Vermont. As early as the year 1777, in the original constitution of the state, it was declared that "one university ought to be established." The clause was omitted from the constitution of 1786 and of 1793. It has been supposed that the reason of the omission was the thought that Dartmouth College might be able to serve the Vermont constituency. In fact for a time Dartmouth College, by reason of the changing boundaries of the two Northern States, did serve this population. From Vermont the College received the grant of a township of land. But in the last two decades of the century the interest in the establishment of a foundation within the limits of Vermont suffered no diminution. Although in the year 1784, excepting clergymen, there were not more than nine persons in the state who had received a liberal education, yet these few were determined to establish a college. Six of the nine were members of a committee in the year 1791, which was specially

concerned with securing the act of incorporation. Small gifts, largely of land, were presently made. Burlington was selected as the site. The president's house was begun, was nearly finished in 1794, but not completed until 1799. For five years the progress of the enterprise was slight. The cause of the delay lay in the fact that Ira Allen, who, above all others, might be called the founder of the College, spent this time in England. Allen desired to secure the authority of the English government and its financial aid for the building of a ship canal from the St. Lawrence to Lake Champlain, and he also desired to secure arms for the equipment of the Vermont militia. He returned in 1800 to find himself a political and financial bankrupt. But the College which he helped to found previous to his departure was organized for instruction in the year of his return.

The delay in the organization of the University of the State of Vermont permitted the people of Middlebury, thirty-three miles from Burlington, to transform their grammar school into a college. Although their petition for a college charter was twice denied, yet on the very opening of instruction at the University it was finally granted. The Middlebury foundation was rather personal and denominational. For a century the two colleges, ministering to the same constituency by diverse methods have together labored through the church and through the State to promote the highest interests of the community and the advancement of humanity.

But two colleges so remote in place and condition as Dickinson and Bowdoin did not have their origin, like Williams and Hampden-Sidney and Hamilton and Union, in a school. At the close of the eighteenth century the District of Maine and what is now central Pennsylvania were remote from the central points of population, and also from great human movements. The census of 1790 showed about one hundred thousand people living in that part of Massachusetts known as the District of Maine. Many of these persons were natives of central parts of Massachusetts, and were accustomed to the better educational advantages of those parts. They desired to establish a college which should minister more directly to themselves than could institutions which were a hundred and fifty miles distant—for

the distance of a hundred and fifty miles in the year 1800 took as long to traverse as the distance of nine hundred miles in the year 1900. As many days were then required to travel the two hundred and forty miles between Boston and New York as are now hours. Therefore a college was established in Brunswick, and it took on the name of a Huguenot family which had been in America for more than a century, and which, during no small share of this time, embodied the highest elements of character, culture, and of public service.

A purpose no less large and human controlled the establishment of Dickinson College in central Pennsylvania. One of the first public works which quickened the interest of the people of Pennsylvania at the close of the Revolutionary War was the establishment of a college at some point west of the Susquehanna. It is declared in formal instruments that the happiness and prosperity of a community depend upon the right education of youth. The people affirm that they desire to educate their children at home rather than in English schools. They assert that liberty is made safe both by piety and learning. The college thus established received the name of Dickinson. John Dickinson was one of the few who ventured to vote against the Declaration of Independence, not on the ground of his failure to approve of the principles of the Declaration, but on the ground of its untimeliness. After its adoption he nobly argued in its behalf. His patriotism was never questioned. But while the name of the College was Dickinson, it was to Dr. Benjamin Rush that the College owed more and most. Dr. Benjamin Rush was one of the great men of the Revolutionary period and of the generation following. A graduate of Princeton, a student of medicine in Edinburgh, London, and Paris, incumbent in medical schools of chairs as diverse as chemistry and the theory and practice of medicine, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, a surgeon general in the Revolution, establishing the first dispensary in this country, a constant writer upon many subjects, a physician of large and diverse practice, a public servant devoted to institutions like the Bible Society and American Philosophical Society, Benjamin Rush shared with Dickinson in the work of the foundation of the college at Carlisle.

These colleges that thus sprang up in the last years of the eighteenth and the first of the nineteenth century, in places as remote as the valley of the Susquehanna and of the Androscoggin, and as Vermont and Virginia, had several elements in common. In the number of their students they were small. They were alike distressingly poor in endowment. Their equipment was of the slightest sort. Union College had at the close of its second year a faculty consisting of the president and one tutor, and the number of students was thirty-seven. The first three presidencies of the College are a history of crushing anxiety arising from financial embarrassment. The life of the students was of the simplest and barest sort. In 1815 a graduate, writing of the dormitory at Williams College, says, not a room was papered or even had a carpet; he adds: "And I do not believe the entire furniture of any one room, excepting perhaps the bed, could have cost, or would have sold for, five dollars. I have before me a bill of the furniture of the Senior recitation room in 1816, *including the locks upon the doors,* and find it amounts to $7.26. And from the best sources to which I can refer, I do not think the expenses of a student in the College could have ordinarily exceeded two hundred dollars a year, all told."[1]

But these colleges, if they were alike in their limitations and disadvantages, were also alike in their more important elements.

The colleges established as local or denominational foundations in the years following the Revolution represented and continued the classical tradition. This tradition had, and still has, several limitations; among them are narrowness and remoteness from present vital problems. But this tradition did, and does, embody the experience of two great races at important periods: it is historical. This tradition also represents a noble body of literature: it is æsthetic. It sets forth languages which are themselves models and examples of logical thoughtfulness and exact discriminations: it unites philosophy and archæology. Whoever, therefore, accepts this appreciation of the ancient past, accepts forces which are among the most precious which the past can offer. Furthermore, these colleges were alike in

[1] Durfee's "History of Williams College," p. 22.

possessing personalities in their chairs of instruction who were vigorous in thought, single in mind, pure in heart, of high purpose, and devoted to the opportunity of training men. These men were not themselves primarily scholars; they were primarily men. Their chief purpose was to train a large manhood in their students. They had been ministers and preachers, and they had hardly changed their profession in becoming teachers; they substituted a desk for a pulpit. They belonged to the Albrecht Dürer type of men. They sacrificed grace to truth. To them religion was a chief concern, and the church its chief representative and organ. They were vigorous and rigorous, the descendants of the Puritans of the Bay Colony and of the early Irish-Scotch immigrants.

The colleges were also similar in attracting students of high purpose, of seriousness and of soberness. The boys went to college, and were not sent. They were, like the community, poor. Education was to them not a luxury to be enjoyed; it was an opportunity won by hard labor, and it embodied a result which became an agent for the enriching of the world. They were earnest in character as they were strong in body. Sons of the soil, they were hardy, simple, ambitious. What they knew—and the field was not large—they knew well. What they thought—though the range was not broad—they thought clearly, and what they felt —although their experiences were narrow—they felt strongly.

The undergraduate life, too, in all these individual colleges, was essentially the same. It was plain, orderly, studious, thoughtful. It was free from distractions. An early graduate of Williams College says: " The amusements of the students, a subject fraught with so many difficulties and dangers in most colleges, were simple and few. There was always a pleasant social relation and intercourse between them and many of the families of the town. And a ball once or twice a year, Commencement Ball being one, and an occasional ride to Pownal, or ' The Cave ' in Adams, or ' The South Part,' constituted the principal portion of the fashionable dissipation of time in which they indulged."[1]

[1] Durfee's "History of Williams College," pp. 23, 24.

The elaborateness of modern college life was fifty years in the future. The system of numberless clubs and fraternities was not to be begun for at least a generation. The first boat race was not to be rowed for forty years, and the first baseball game to be played for thirty. The college life, like the life beyond college walls, was a serious business. The men lived ever in their "great Taskmaster's eye."

The influence of such personalities, placed in such environment, could not fail in every college to eventuate in noble, sound, and serious character. Such influence made neither athletes nor æsthetes. It did not create scholarship, it could not promote culture. It embodied the cardinal virtues and the cardinal verities. It stood for strength. It made men who had an aim to serve their fellow-men, and of a type of the Christian faith which sent these men as missionaries to the new west and the Asiatic east. It represented that profoundest and most lasting of all forms of power, the power of a person. Its prevailing atmosphere was manliness, and its consummate, comprehensive result was manhood.

The contributions, too, which such colleges made to the life of the new Republic were largely a contribution of strong and vigorous personality. The value of such an offering was, and is, priceless.

CHAPTER X

THE LAYING OF NEWER FOUNDATIONS

The significance of the development of the higher education in America in the fourscore years that have passed since the foundation of the University of Virginia is no less great than the significance of the development of the American people occurring in the same period. The enlargement of territory, the growth of wealth, and the increase in the complexity and elaborateness of the art of living are no greater, great as they are, than is the development of the American college and university.

In the last eighty years, covering the principal time of the westward movement of civilization, twenty-two states have been established. In this period no less than five hundred institutions for the higher education have been founded. As the movement of this population represents the most important immigration of modern history, so the installation of the forces of education embodies the most impressive illustration of the advancement of a free people. The civil and political establishments of a new state have proved to be the precursor, by only brief intervals, of the laying of foundations of the higher education. Indiana was admitted to the Union in 1816. Its population was about 150,000. Its first college was founded four years after, Hanover and Wabash in 1832, and Franklin in 1834. Illinois became a state in 1818 having a population of less than 60,000. Shurtleff College was founded in 1827, McKendree in 1828, Illinois in 1829, and Knox in 1837. Alabama became a state in 1819, and the university bearing its name was founded in 1831. Missouri became a state in 1821, its people numbering only 66,000, and its first institution of the higher education, St. Louis University, began its existence in 1829. Michigan was admitted to the Union in 1837, having a population of 212,000, and in the very same year its university dates its actual existence. Iowa became a

state in 1846. Its people numbered almost 200,000, and Iowa Western University had already established itself by two years; and two years after, in 1848, Iowa College was founded. Wisconsin was admitted to the Union in 1848, and Beloit College was founded only a year later. California became a part of the Union in 1850, with less than 100,000 inhabitants, but before this time had occurred much discussion regarding the establishment of a university. Minnesota became a state in 1858, and its university was founded ten years after. But for years previous to the formal establishing of a university in Minnesota, Indiana, and many other commonwealths, foundations of the higher education had been laid or projected.

The westward movement of the wave of population was interrupted temporarily by the great war. Immediately after the cessation of hostilities the movement again commenced and progressed with accelerated speed. In the four years, however, of the war, efforts made in the establishment of colleges suffered, but were by no means suspended. The number of colleges to which charters were granted from 1861 to 1865 was about one-half of the number which were founded in the four years either preceding or following the great conflict.

Kansas was admitted as a state in 1861; its people numbered a few thousand more than 100,000. In the year of the close of the war three colleges were there established. Nebraska was made a state in 1867, and Doane College was established five years after. Colorado had founded a college two years before the date of its admission to the Union in the Centennial year, when its population was less than 200,000. Washington, Montana, and South Dakota became states in the year 1889. In the year following Washington and Montana founded colleges, and South Dakota had established its university seven years before.

It is well, however, for Americans to remind themselves that sacrifices for the higher education are not confined to America. The canton of Zürich, Switzerland, having a population of about three hundred and fifty thousand and an area of less than seven hundred square miles, supports a famous university; and Basel, with a population of less than a hundred thousand, maintains a university founded before the discovery of America.

The motives which have throughout this period proved of largest influence in the cause of the higher education are either largely human or religious. These two motives, however, have influenced each other. The human motive has frequently in its realization taken upon itself the religious and ecclesiastical method or means, and the motive religious has found its incentive in a love for humanity. The enrichment of scholarship, the enlargement of the boundaries of knowledge, the increase of the essential worth and of the refinements of civilized life, the promotion of efficiency, the growth of culture, and the augmentation of the power of thinking represent the primary elements of the human and humanistic purpose. This purpose is akin to the purposes which have controlled the progress of civilization from the time of Plato to the present year. The two words which are most common on the shields of American colleges are "Veritas" and "Lux," and the two symbols which are most common are an open book and the rising sun. The diffusion of truth and the increasing power of knowledge are the two great motives which have controlled in the foundation and in the enlargement of the higher education.

The difficulties in the way of establishing the higher institutions of learning in the newer parts of what is now the central West were manifold; chief among them was the poverty of the people. In 1800 it is estimated that the total valuation of the whole country was slightly in excess of one billion. In 1820 these values were less than two billions of dollars; and in 1840 they had become three billions eight hundred millions. In the following score of years the proportional rate of increase was much more rapid. The larger share of this property belonged to the states of the Atlantic seaboard. The Western states were poor. The endowment of a college represented the severest economies. In one instance a pair of gold earrings worth $1.20, and in another a string of gold beads, appraised at $7, were accepted as offerings to the cause.[1] Even as late as the year 1850 California felt her poverty in the endeavor to establish a college.

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[1] "Historical Sketch of Eighty-five Years of the Congregational Educational Society," p. 3.

Although California was sending a large amount of gold to the east, she had only a small amount to keep for her own higher institutions. Until the opening of the Erie Canal in the year 1825 there was no adequate market for the grain and the wheat which the Central West was producing.

The second difficulty was found in the climatic conditions, which resulted in the sickness of many settlers. The prairies reeked with malaria. Swamps which are now fruitful fields fed tuberculosis and other diseases. The summers were hot; the winters bitterly cold. In the year 1820 the Blue River settlements of Indiana were so afflicted that the sick people outnumbered the well. Two years later an epidemic of fever carried off an eighth of the population of Indianapolis. The county seat of Lawrence County was nearly depopulated. In January, 1834, one-tenth of the population of Quincy, Ill., died of cholera. The lack of proper medical attendance united with the deadly miasma in promoting sickness and in filling graveyards.

A further difficulty in establishing the institutions of the higher education was found in the lack of institutions of the lower education. Not a few of the so-called colleges were essentially academies. If the college students were numbered by the dozen, or in some cases by the half dozen, the number of those enrolled in the affiliated fitting schools and preparatory departments was several times greater. The public high school was not to assume a place of commanding importance until the middle of the century. The common schools were usually established under permissive, not mandatory, laws. It was not, for instance, until the first year of the second half of the last century that the public school system of Indiana had secured a permanent place in either the laws or the affections of its people.

A fourth element of the hardship of establishing the colleges lay in the diversity of elements of the population. Into the central states flowed people from the South as well as from the East. Of the forty-seven members of the Convention that framed the constitution of Ohio, sixteen came from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky, nine from New York and New Jersey, and eight from New England. Into Ohio moved at least six different groups of people. The President of Knoxville

College, writing in 1829, said: "Our population in the Western States and Territories is gathered, not only from all parts of the American Union, but from different nations of the earth; and, I had almost said, from all religious denominations in Christendom, with innumerable varieties and much strength of character. Their degrees of knowledge, their prepossessions, attachments and prejudices, are endlessly diversified."[1]

A further cause of difficulty was found in the constant fear of attack from hostile Indians. One of the reasons given for the sale of land to the Ohio Company was the advantage of creating a colony of Revolutionary soldiers as a defense against the red man. Doubtless, moreover, the South was more easily reconciled to the prohibition of slavery in the Northwest Territory through the hope that settlements of white men would render their western borders less exposed to attacks. The fear of Indian outbreaks was not a good atmosphere for the growth of educational ideals.

A sixth and last element of difficulty in the establishing of the institutions of the higher education rested in the relatively small number of the population. In the decade of 1820 to 1830 there were only eight hundred thousand people in the entire Northwest Territory; more than half of this number were found in southern Ohio. In 1815 Cincinnati had only three thousand people, and Cleveland was a small frontier village.

Yet these considerations, together with such other reasons as the lack of good roads, and the constant peril that the Northwest Territory might become ultimately slave states, although obstructing, did not prevent, the progress of the cause of the higher education. For, the enthusiastic purpose of personal and of social betterment, and the sublime consciousness of the leading of divine Providence—a consciousness as deeply felt by many of these Pilgrims as by the Mayflower Company—were more than sufficient to overcome these manifold and material obstacles. In any immigration are gathered the worst and the best elements of a community. The worst are here found consisting of those who have nothing to lose through a change; the best are also found,

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[1] *Quarterly Register*, vol. ii, p. 75.

consisting of those of clear vision, of high ideals, and of brave hearts. Among the peoples that came into the central parts of the Mississippi valley the better elements predominated. In such a movement material and spiritual motives were mingled. Near the close of the first quarter of the last century New England school boys were singing:

"Come, all ye Yankee farmers who wish to change your lot,
Who've spunk enough to travel beyond your native spot,
And leave behind the village where pa and ma do stay,
Come follow me and settle in Michigania." [1]

But also the people of New England were being urged upon religious grounds to populate the West. One writing in the year 1828 says: "Now we put the question seriously to Christians, whether they will neglect the opportunity here offered them, of using their utmost exertions to plant the institutions of learning and religion in the Western States?" [2] The purpose and motives which prevailed in the settlement of Massachusetts Bay, personal, social, religious, were also the motives which influenced many of the families of New England and the Middle States to go into the Central West.

These higher purposes were soon embodied in the constitutions of the several states. The constitution of the state of Indiana declares that:

"It shall be the duty of the general assembly, as soon as circumstances will permit, to provide by law for a general system of education, ascending in regular gradation from township schools to a State University, wherein tuition shall be gratis and equally open to all." [3]

In the constitution of the state of Illinois it is said:

"That 5 per cent. of the net proceeds of the land lying within such State, and which shall be sold by Congress from and after the 1st day of January, 1819, after deducting all expense incident to the same, shall be

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[1] "Report of Commissioner of Education, 1894–95," vol. ii, p. 1545.

[2] *Quarterly Register*, vol. i, p. 64.

[3] "Documents Illustrative of American Educational History," compiled by B. A. Hindsdale, and included in "Report of Commissioner of Education, 1892–93." Part iii, p. 1319.

reserved for the purposes following, viz.: Two-fifths to be disbursed under the direction of Congress, in making roads leading to the State; the residue to be appropriated by the Legislature of the State for the encouragement of learning, of which one-sixth part shall be exclusively bestowed on a college or university.

"That thirty-six sections, or one entire township, which shall be designated by the President of the United States, together with the one heretofore reserved for that purpose, shall be reserved for the use of a seminary of learning, and vested in the legislature of the said State, to be appropriated solely to the use of such seminary by said legislature." [1]

The constitution of the state of Alabama declares that:

"Schools, and the means of education, shall forever be encouraged in this State; and the general assembly shall take measures to preserve, from unnecessary waste or damage, such lands as are or hereafter may be, granted by the United States for the use of schools within each township in this State, and apply the funds, which may be raised from such lands, in strict conformity to the object of such grant. The general assembly shall take like measures for the improvement of such lands as have been or may be hereafter granted by the United States to this State, for the support of a seminary of learning, and the moneys which may be raised from such lands, by rent, lease, or sale, or from any other quarter, for the purpose aforesaid, shall be and remain a fund for the exclusive support of a State university, for the promotion of the arts, literature, and the sciences; and it shall be the duty of the general assembly, as early as may be, to provide effectual means for the improvement and permanent security of the funds and endowments of such institution." [2]

The constitution of the state of Missouri affirms important clauses of the Illinois constitution.

Michigan, in its state constitution, says that:

"The seventy-two sections of land set apart and reserved for the use and support of a university, by an act of Congress approved on the 20th day of May, 1826, entitled 'An act concerning a seminary of learning in the Territory of Michigan,' shall, together with such further quantities

[1] "Documents Illustrative of American Educational History," compiled by B. A. Hindsdale, and included in "Report of Commissioner of Education, 1892–93." Part iii, pp. 1320, 1321.

[2] Ibid., p. 1321.

as may be agreed upon by Congress, be conveyed to the State and shall be appropriated solely to the use and support of such university, in such manner as the legislature may prescribe." [1]

The constitution of the state of Iowa declares that:

"The university lands, and the proceeds thereof, and all moneys belonging to said fund, shall be a permanent fund for the sole use of the State university. The interest arising from the same shall be annually appropriated for the support and benefit of said university." [2]

Further we read that:

"The general assembly shall take measures for the protection, improvement, or other disposition of such lands as have been, or may hereafter be, reserved or granted by the United States, or any person or persons, to this State, for the use of the university, and the funds accruing from the rents or sale of such lands, or from any other source for the purpose aforesaid, shall be and remain a permanent fund, the interest of which shall be applied to the support of the university, for the promotion of literature, the arts and sciences, as may be authorized by the terms of such grant. And it shall be the duty of the general assembly, as soon as may be, to provide effectual means for the improvement and permanent security of the funds of said university." [3]

And the state of Wisconsin in its constitution affirms that:

"Provision shall be made by law for the establishment of a State-university, at or near the seat of the State-government, and for the connecting with the same from time to time such colleges in different parts of the State as the interests of education may require. The proceeds of all lands that have been or may hereafter be granted by the United States to the State for the support of a university shall be and remain a perpetual fund, to be called the 'university-fund,' the interest of which shall be appropriated to the support of the State-university, and no sectarian instruction shall be allowed in such university.

"The secretary of state, treasurer, and attorney-general shall constitute a board of commissioners for the sale of the school- and university-lands,

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[1] "Documents Illustrative of American Educational History," compiled by B. A. Hindsdale, and included in "Report of Commissioner of Education, 1892–93." Part iii, p. 1327.

[2] Ibid., p. 1331.

[3] Ibid., p. 1332.

and for the investment of the funds arising therefrom. Any two of said commissioners shall be a quorum for the transaction of all business pertaining to the duties of their office." [1]

As the constitution embodied the formal purpose of the people of a state to promote the higher education and as it represented the popular force of a high ideal, so also the constitution itself promoted the realization of this ideal. In the states of the Northwest Territory and in the neighboring commonwealths the progress of the higher education has been promoted both under the formal guidance of the commonwealth, and also through the energy and wisdom of the people in their unorganized capacity. The endeavor of the people in their unorganized capacity has usually taken on religious or denominational forms. In certain cases these forms have preceded the action of the people in an organized relationship. But in Indiana and in Michigan, as well as in Ohio, the formal action of the state was first taken.

While the state of Ohio was founding and developing her universities at Athens and at Oxford, the Territory of Indiana was trying to establish the higher education according to the terms of the Ordinance of 1787. The Indiana Territory was organized in the year 1800, and comprised all of the Northwest Territory except that which had been separated into the Territory of Ohio. The first general assembly of the Territory passed an act to incorporate a university. It was approved by Governor William Henry Harrison in 1806. The enthusiasm out of which, in such a primitive condition, was ordained the establishment of Vincennes University is well indicated in the preamble, the hifalutin of the style not hiding the purpose or the energy of the writing:

"Whereas, the independence, happiness, and energy of every republic depend (under the influence of the destinies of Heaven) upon the wisdom, effort, talents, and energy of its citizens and rulers; and

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[1] "Documents Illustrative of American Educational History," compiled by B. A. Hindsdale, and included in "Report of Commissioner of Education, 1892–93." Part iii, p. 1333.

"Whereas science, literature, and the liberal arts contribute in an eminent degree to improve these qualities and requirements; and,

"Whereas learning hath ever been found the ablest advocate of genuine liberty, the best supporter of rational religion, and the source of the only solid and imperishable glory which nations can acquire;

"And if such as literature and philosophy furnish the most useful and pleasing of the occupations, improving and varying the enjoyments of prosperity, affording relief under the pressure of misfortune, and hope and consolation in the hours of death;

"And considering that in a commonwealth where the humblest citizen may be elected to the highest public offices, and where the Heaven-born prerogative of the right to elect and to reject and retain it is secured to the citizens, the knowledge which is requisite for a magistrate and elector should be widely diffused." [1]

This statement is chiefly valuable as showing the eagerness of the people in the cause of the higher education. The laying of this foundation at Vincennes was followed by another foundation at Bloomington. This institution, established in the year 1820 as Indiana Seminary, became known eight years after as Indiana College, and in 1838 was formally recognized as Indiana University. From a faculty of one and a student body numbering only ten it grew, through the energetic and wise administrations of Maxwell, Hall, and Wylie, to hold near the close of the fourth decade of the century a conspicuous place.

The higher education in Indiana was promoted by the whole people in their organized capacity as a commonwealth. The higher education was more popular than the common. In the year 1840 one man out of seven could not read. In the decade between 1840 and 1850, while the population increased fifty per cent, illiteracy increased a hundred. But many of the new inhabitants came from states in which the higher relations of learning were regarded as belonging to the aristocratic classes, and university education progressed more rapidly than the common school. Class prejudices prevailed. The idea of liberty, equality, fraternity, was not fully developed. The higher edu-

[1] Bureau of Education, "Circular of Information, No. 5, 1891"; "History of Higher Education in Indiana," p. 30.

cation for the higher classes, and little or none of the lower education for the lower classes, represented the prevailing educational principles and methods.

A similar movement of the whole population for the higher education characterized the early history of education in the territory of Michigan. With the passing away of the attempt to form the University of Michigania, or the Catholepistemiad, began an endeavor, sane and rational, for securing the genuine elements of an enlarged and higher education. The vanishing of the mongrel name and of what it stood for did not cause the elimination of a general interest in the cause of the higher education. The enthusiasm of the people in the cause was promoted by one who was to Michigan what Horace Mann was to Massachusetts and Henry Barnard to Rhode Island. The general efficiency of the first superintendent of public instruction, John D. Pierce, a Presbyterian missionary, was coördinate with the legislative efficiency of Isaac Edwin Crary. Crary was the first scholar in the first class of what is now Trinity College, Hartford. Coming to Michigan in 1832, serving as delegate to Congress from the Territory and as the first representative in Congress from the State, and also being a member of the convention which drafted the first constitution, he laid well the educational foundations. He was the author of the article on education which was incorporated into the first constitution. No state has been more fortunate in the beginning of its educational history than was Michigan in the presence and service of Crary and of Pierce. The conception of Pierce for the University grew out not only of his own mind, but it was influenced also by conferences held with President Day of Yale, and with Edward Everett, who was soon to become president of Harvard. The Act which, in 1837, established the university, was drawn with an unusual sense of educational comprehensiveness. The university was to consist of three departments: one of literature, science, and art; one of law; and one of medicine. Its government was vested in a Board of Regents, to consist of twelve members and a Chancellor, who was to be the President of the Board. The members of this body were to be appointed by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Senate. The

interpretation, too, of the nature of the field represented in each of the three departments was large. The whole plan was wise and comprehensive.

The plan included the establishment of various branches of the University throughout the state. These branches were to serve both as preparatory schools for the University and as training schools for teachers. The danger, however, of dissipation of educational forces through the establishment of such branches was after a few years removed. But these branches were not useless. They were valuable in arousing interest in education in each of the towns and the immediate neighborhood in which they were placed.

Upon the broad foundation thus laid by Pierce and by Crary the University of Michigan began its work. The actual giving of instruction did not begin, however, until the autumn of 1841. At that time a Faculty of two members received the students, who numbered six.

As the State of Wisconsin was once a part of the State of Michigan, so also the formal beginning of the higher education in Wisconsin was modeled upon the University of Michigan. Like the University of the older state, that of the newer was divided into three departments. Wisconsin, however, sought to adopt the method of New York in making the University the executive head of the public school system. Its power was, as in Michigan, vested in a Board of thirteen regents, but, unlike Michigan, they were chosen by the Legislature and they were authorized to elect a president. The difference between the method of securing the governing board, as obtaining in Michigan and Wisconsin, represents the two different methods which are now in use. To these methods, however, is to be added a third, that of popular election.

The first department organized in the University of Wisconsin was one not laid down in its comprehensive plan. No students were ready to enter the department of science, literature, and arts. The state had neither academies nor high schools. Therefore a preparatory school was organized. Despite this untoward condition the public spirit of the state was optimistic. That education was a primary interest of the state had become

the feeling and belief of the people; it had also received recognition as a formal principle in the constitution.

Although Missouri was quite as remote in certain social and intellectual relationships from the principles embodied in the settlement of the Northwest Territory as it was geographically remote from that territory itself, yet in one essential respect, at least, Missouri in its beginning was quite akin to its great neighbors on the east and north. In the Act of Congress of 1812 organizing the Territory of Missouri, the most famous article of the Ordinance of 1787 was carried across the Mississippi. This article was somewhat enlarged so that it came to read: "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools, and the means of education shall be encouraged and provided for from the public lands of the United States in said Territory in such manner as Congress may deem expedient."[1] When, in the year 1821, the State of Missouri was admitted to the Union, two townships of land were given to the University as well as one-thirty-sixth of the entire public domain, together with salt and swamp lands granted to township schools. The idea of a university for Missouri was intimated in Acts of Congress of 1818 and 1820. In the Ordinance of July of 1830, passed prior to the constitutional organization of the state, as well as in the Constitution itself, the establishment of a university was made. The two townships of forty-six thousand and eighty acres of land selected in 1827 were sold in the middle of the fourth decade, but the price realized was only about seventy-eight thousand dollars. The progress in the location and instituting of a university was slow. Provision was made for the location upon the basis of bids which might be offered by counties or by towns. Five counties bid for the location in sums running from a hundred and seventeen thousand nine hundred dollars, to thirty thousand dollars. The large bonus offered by the citizens of Boone County indicated much interest in the cause of the higher education. Boone County had less than fourteen thousand people.

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[1] United States Bureau of Education, "Circular of Information No. 2, 1898," "Higher Education in Missouri," p. 12.

The population was poor. Not a few men subscribed, too, for the establishment of the University a larger amount than they were actually worth at the time of making their subscriptions. Citizens sold their farms in order to enrich the cause of the higher education. One man, who could neither read nor write, gave three thousand dollars. Five young men, students in an academy, subscribed a hundred dollars each, and afterwards earned the money and paid their subscriptions. It is to be said that this whole amount of almost a hundred and twenty thousand dollars was paid in full.

In 1839 an act was passed providing for the details of the administration. As the Territory of Missouri carried across the Mississippi, in the Act of Congress of 1812, the great principle of the Ordinance of 1787, so also in the plan for the administration of the University was incorporated the educational system of Thomas Jefferson. In 1779 Thomas Jefferson urged upon Virginia a general system of public education, which should comprehend the three classes of schools—elementary, secondary, and the university. Missouri inaugurated Jefferson's plan so far as it concerned the elementary schools and the University. The people declined to incorporate that part which had relation to the secondary education in the form of academics and colleges of the University. The relation of the University to Jefferson is at the present day symbolized by the placing upon the campus the original tombstone of the great Virginian, bearing the historical statement of his unique threefold service to his Commonwealth.

Following the formal act of institution and of organization, instruction was first offered to the students on the third day of the year 1844.

The educational beginnings of Illinois were quite unlike those of the other four states carved out of the Northwest Territory. If in Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin the whole people were concerned with the foundation and progress of the higher education, in Illinois the interest was confined to certain social groups, showing itself in individual or denominational colleges. The early population of Illinois represented individualistic conceptions of the Commonwealth more completely than the popu-

lations of either Michigan or Wisconsin. There was no general attempt to form a common school system until the year 1825. The first school law was only permissive. The feeling against general taxation for school purposes was strong. There was no general movement for either the lower or the higher education. Groups of settlers, however, were deeply interested in the establishing of colleges. In 1818 Murray, a Baptist missionary of Connecticut, founded what became a school of theology. Peter Cartwright, ten years later, laid a similar foundation for the Methodist church. Illinois College was founded under Congregational influences in 1832. The institution was the result of the faith of a band of Yale men who came to Illinois for the purpose of preëmpting that great state for the cause of religion and of good morals. A member of this band said:

"This organization among the Yale theological students was, in the hands of Divine Providence, the principal agency in founding Illinois College. Mr. Grosvenor's plan was to form an association of theological students, known to each other and bound by mutual ties, for the purpose of co-operating in the work of home missions. A frontier state, or territory likely soon to become a state, was to be selected as a common field of labor. It was proposed to establish there an institution of learning, and by the united efforts of the association to foster its growth and efficiency, while the members strengthened each other's hands in the use of all evangelical instrumentalities. By this means they hoped to secure co-operation, which is often so difficult to obtain among the scattered population of the frontier, and to avoid that peculiar isolation which is among the greatest disadvantages of a home missionary on the borders of the wilderness. The conception was certainly felicitous. It awakened great interest in the minds of my two friends, and led not only to the organization of the Illinois band, but to the formation of other bands of theological students destined for the West." [1]

Similar associations went to Iowa, Kansas, and at a much later time to Dakota and to Washington. The foundations that were thus laid were not only religious, but also in a marked degree denominational. The denominational forms under which Christianity has usually developed have also been applied to

[1] Julian M. Sturtevant, "An Autobiography," pp. 135–6.

Christian education. These forms have in many ways been too strongly denominational. While they have promoted the general cause of the higher education under the specific form of sectarian aggrandizement, yet education itself, in all its higher relations, has not infrequently been sacrificed to the sectarian interest and counsel. Thus Dr. Sturtevant, writing near the close of his life, said:

"Public opinion in this region was then almost unanimous in favor of intrusting the higher education to institutions established and controlled by religious people, rather than to those found and governed by the state, or by any other political body. In this respect, the principle upon which our institution was based met almost universal approbation. Had the Christian people of Illinois then united to sustain it, or any other college established on like principles, they could easily have given it so much of strength and public confidence that it would have been above the competition of all non-Christian institutions. It was, then, these ecclesiastical and sectarian rivalries which prevented the religious part of the community from acquiring a controlling influence on the higher education. After a time intelligent and patriotic men, seeing the denominations entirely incapable of uniting for a great undertaking, and even weakened by internal dissensions, began to despair of colleges founded on the voluntary principle, and to turn toward the state as the only hope for great and well-equipped seats of learning." [1]

The religious impulse for the higher education, uniquely felt in Illinois, was also manifest in other states of the Northwest Territory. In Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin, the impulse that was derived from ecclesiastical and religious forces showed itself at the time when forces derived from the Commonwealth were silent. It is difficult to emphasize too strongly the prevalence of the religious and ecclesiastical motive. This motive was supplied mainly by what an officer of one of the earliest colleges affirms were the "spiritual necessities of the western country." [2] These necessities had relation largely to the supply of a well-qualified ministry. The purpose which moved in the establishment of Harvard College was also of influence in the

[1] Julian M. Sturtevant, "An Autobiography," pp. 188–189.

[2] *Quarterly Register*, vol. v, p. 331

establishment of the larger share of all the colleges from the foundation of Kenyon and of Western Reserve in the middle of the third decade to the beginning of the Civil War. In the year 1816 an Andover professor affirmed that in the nine western states and territories, in a population of slightly over a million, there were only a hundred and sixteen ministers.[1] But the purpose of training a ministry was only a part of a more comprehensive one. The passion for humanity moved the older populations of the east to give of their comparative wealth and the new populations of the west of their comparative poverty for the establishing and endowing of colleges. The peril of a new country is the peril of materialism and of sensualism. The struggle for living is necessarily so intense that it may overcome the endeavor for life in higher and larger relations. The peril is as constant as it is keen that the absorption of physical and intellectual energy in the forms of endeavor which appeal to the senses may leave little or no force to be expended upon the primary elements of a higher civilization.

The people who settled the Northwest Territory were keenly alive to these dangers. For meeting these perils the church was the readiest weapon. The church as a society affirmed the highest spiritual purposes. This association could easily be mobilized for spiritual and intellectual activities of many sorts. It was therefore natural that these churches, either in their individual or associated capacity of Presbytery or of Conference, should speedily interest themselves in the establishment of colleges. Not only for the sake of training a learned ministry, but also for the sake of the promotion of the higher civilization did the members of these ecclesiastical organizations devote themselves to the foundations of the institutions of the higher learning. Benevolence, faith, prayer, philanthropy, were all joined together in these noble undertakings.

The distinctively religious motive has in a progressive social group often been earlier and more vigorous in its manifestation than the human. The constitution of not a few churches has given and gives to members the privilege of moving more

[1] "Historical Sketch of the Congregational Educational Society," p. 3.

easily in the establishing of the higher education than was possible for the Commonwealth in its formal capacity. The incentives which led to the foundation of the first colleges in Cambridge, Williamsburg, and New Haven, have been felt often and strongly by the people of the prairie states. The religious purpose has usually taken on an ecclesiastical form, and not infrequently has received a special professional emphasis. The aim of training clergymen has often been a structural element in the building of colleges. The citizens of a state and members of a church in the newer parts of America have often based themselves in their conception of education upon the belief of Francis Lieber:

"Christianity, considered as a branch of knowledge, constituted an indispensable element in the liberal education, but that Christianity taken solely as an historical fact is incomparably the mightiest factor in the annals of the human society; that it has tinctured and penetrated all systems of knowledge, all institutions both civil and exclusively social, the laws, the languages, the literature of the civilized nations, their ethics, rights, tastes and wants." [1]

The founders, therefore, of a college in the name of a church have not felt themselves apart from the human motive. They have believed and declared that the highest and largest purpose in the higher education, for the enrichment and improvement of mankind, was most directly and effectively gained through the establishment of the Christian college. They also have not infrequently affirmed that so far as the progress of humanity was dependent upon the cause of Christianity, and so far as the cause of Christianity was dependent upon the church, the progress of mankind was, in certain instances, most powerfully affected by the establishment of colleges which should train and equip college men for service through their church to the race. The founder of Kenyon College, the first bishop of Ohio and Illinois, declared that the college was endowed, not for the spread of "mere secular knowledge or even of general Christianity, but with the object of raising up college men to minister to the flock of Christ in the remote west." [2]

[1] "History of Education in Indiana," p. 138.
[2] "Life of Philander Chase," p. 216.

The great majority of all the colleges founded in the last eighty years have been founded with the religious motive; the larger share, too, of this great number have been endowed and their prosperity promoted through denominational zeal. They represent an agency created, not only for the members of their own church for its prosperity, but also they represent the offering which that church makes to general humanity for its development. In certain cases the motive has been narrowly interpreted and applied, but in most the interpretation has been broad and general. Western Reserve was founded through the energy of the Presbyteries of Ohio. Oberlin had its origin in a movement which lamented the "degeneracy of the church and the deplorable condition of our perishing world."[1] In southern Ohio, and at the same time that Oberlin was founded in northern Ohio, emerged Marietta College with a similar ecclesiastical purpose. In 1830 was established at Marietta an Institute of Education, embracing four departments, the two higher being a high school and a ladies' seminary. Two years later the institution became known as the Marietta Collegiate Institute. Presently the institution became a corporation under the name of the Marietta Collegiate Institute and Western Teachers' Seminary. Three years after, a new charter, giving the power to confer degrees, was secured, and the name was changed to Marietta College. Although the origin of the institution was largely humanistic, yet in their first published statement the trustees declared the religious character and origin of their institution:

"The Board wish it to be distinctly understood that the essential doctrines and duties of the Christian religion will be assiduously inculcated, but no sectarian peculiarities of belief will be taught."

In their annual report of 1835 they say: "The honor of originating Marietta College is not claimed by the board of trustees; its existence cannot properly be ascribed to them or to any combination of individuals, but to the leadings of Divine Providence."[2]

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[1] The Oberlin Covenant: Leonard's "The Story of Oberlin," p. 85.

[2] United States Bureau of Education, "Circular of Information, No. 5, 1891," "The History of Higher Education in Ohio," p. 104.

The foundation of Wabash, DePauw and Franklin, of Indiana, was also of religious and ecclesiastical origin. The Presbyterian church was instrumental in the foundation of Wabash. Its site was solemnly dedicated to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost for a Christian College. The zeal and the piety of the Wesleys were present in the beginnings of DePauw. Franklin College was the result of the wisdom and enthusiasm of Baptist ministers and laymen.

Hillsdale College, in Michigan, was the result of the concerted action of lay members of the Free Baptist Church. The first annual catalogue of another Michigan college (Olivet) of 1846 declares:

"We wish to have it distinctly understood that the whole object of this institution is, has been, and we hope ever will be, the education of young men and women—especially such as are not rich in this world's goods, but heirs of the Kingdom of God—for the glory of God and the salvation of a dying world." [1]

At a little later period similar conditions emerged in Iowa. The college bearing the name of the state was the child of eleven graduates of Andover Seminary, who, in 1843, came to the great Territory intending to found churches and a college. The realization of their purpose was aided by the similar purpose which Turner and Gaylord, who had preceded them, had already conceived. As early as 1844 the members of the Baptist Church too, in their third annual Territorial Association, voted:

"That the establishment of an institution of learning at some eligible point in the Territory by the Baptist denomination is a subject of vast importance, and that it is the duty of this convention to take immediate and vigorous measures toward the consummation of this object." [2]

The founders of these colleges believed with fervor that education not based on religion was vain. They were convinced that

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[1] United States Bureau of Education, "Circular of Information, No. 5, 1891," "History of Higher Education in Michigan," p. 139.

[2] Ibid., "Higher Education in Iowa," p. 131.

" Veritas " should be written across the open book of their college shield, that the book itself should be surrounded by the words " Christo et Ecclesiæ," and they would declare, if any declaration were made necessary, that this book was none other than the Bible.

The endeavors for the higher education in these states in the early and middle decades of the last century were not confined to the members of the Protestant church. The devotion of the missionaries of the Presbyterian, Congregational and Baptist churches, and of the bishops of the Episcopal, was the same love for humanity which inspired the bishops and priests of the Catholic faith. Of the confessors of this faith none have been more enthusiastic or persistent than the members of the Society of Jesus. Not long after the establishment of the first college in Georgetown in 1791 multiplication began. From this college came, in the third decade of the last century, twelve members, lay and clerical, who, at St. Louis, established a school bearing the name of the state. The education of both Indian and white children was their purpose as it was a purpose of the founder of Dartmouth College. The members of the Faculty were largely natives of Belgium. The motive which led them across the sea was also the motive which led them across the prairie.

But in these early decades of the last century, the origin and progress of the higher education were not confined either to the ecclesiastical or to the formal constitutional conditions of the commonwealth. The people in their unorganized capacities as communities showed their interest in the great cause. At the very time that Ohio University at Athens was being established as a State University, a few people on the Western Reserve were petitioning for the establishment of a college. In the first year of the century, when the population of northern Ohio could not have exceeded fifteen hundred, a petition was made to the Territorial Legislature for the granting of a charter for the college. The petitioners in large comprehension of great human relationships say:

"We consider our present national character abroad and our civil and religious liberties at home to have their foundation laid (under God)

by the early institution of public schools and Colleges for the education of youth." [1]

The petitioners go on to affirm that "The numerous able statesmen, the excellent constitutions and codes of laws for the government of our nation show the superior advantages derived to a people by education." They also declare that the future of their country rests upon the conditions which belong to education. They say:

"We apprehend that the continuation of the rights and liberties of our country does depend under Divine Providence on the continued exertion of our political Fathers and the people of information in general, to devise and promote ways and means for education." [2]

In various parts of the west and in other decades have similarly broad purposes of the higher education emerged. Although it has been acknowledged that religion in America has vastly promoted civilization, and although civilization has aided in the creation of a large type of the Christian faith, yet it has been argued that the higher education might have been founded and been made to prosper without the distinctively religious basis. The creation of literature, the elevation of good taste, the development of art, the promotion of a wise and vigorous public opinion, the enhancement of intellectual pleasures, and the satisfaction of the primary ethical wants of the community, are essential and necessary purposes of the higher education. Out of such a condition was founded in the middle of the century Washington University, St. Louis. But the number of such institutions which had no relation to religion in either a personal or organized capacity, founded at any time in the nineteenth century, has been few. Either the state in its formal relation, or the people, through their religious and ecclesiastical, has represented the normal and, apparently, necessary, method.

The establishment under the religious motive of colleges in the newer parts of America has not been accomplished by local

[1] "A History of Western Reserve College During Its First Half Century," by President Carroll Cutler, Appendix A.

[2] Ibidem.

forces only. The older part of the country has constantly ministered to the newer. As the colleges of New England, in their first decades turned to old England for aid, so the colleges of the west have constantly turned for help, financial and personal, to New England and the Middle States. The churches of New England and the Middle States early organized themselves into societies for the purpose of the promotion of the higher education in the newer Commonwealths. The most efficient of all such associations was called the American Education Society, which, formed in the second decade of the last century, aided in the establishment of colleges and in giving pecuniary help to students who were preparing to become ministers.

CHAPTER XI

IN THE SOUTHERN STATES

While education was developing west of the Alleghanies and north of the Ohio, it was in the south impassive.

The birth of the University of Virginia was almost contemporaneous with the death of its father. Jefferson died with the belief that he had done a great work for his native state and for America, in the foundation of the University, but also with the assurance that this foundation was not appreciated by many people of the state. Less than six months before he died Jefferson wrote to his friend Cabell:

"I have been long sensible that while I was endeavoring to render our country the greatest of all services, that of regenerating the public education, and placing our rising generation on the level of our sister States (which they have proudly held heretofore), I was discharging the odious function of a physician pouring medicine down the throat of a patient insensible of needing it. I am so sure of the future approbation of posterity, and of the inestimable effect we shall have produced in the elevation of our country by what we have done, as that I cannot repent of the part I have borne in coöperation with my colleagues." [1]

The co-worker of Jefferson in the long and perplexing labor of the establishing of the University, helped to make good the hope of Jefferson that the University would prove of value in the uplifting and liberalizing of men. As legislator, visitor, and friend Cabell wrought well. Whatever truth there may lie in the words of Emerson that an institution is the lengthened shadow of one man, it is also true that the impression made by the University was rendered much larger and deeper by the devotion and self-sacrifice of Cabell. In the generation which

[1] Jefferson and Cabell, "University of Virginia," p. 366.

divides the death of Jefferson from the death of his friend, the University gained in power and in genuine eminence. It came to possess a dominant educational force throughout the South. Its influence became so thoroughly interwoven with all the institutions of the southern states that it would be difficult to differentiate its elements. Its system of independent schools has been adopted in not a few institutions. In this period it has enrolled not far from seven thousand students, who, departing from the University with or without a degree, have entered into all the relations of the life of the South. The teachers in not a few colleges have been its graduates.

The causes of the influence of the University of Virginia are manifold. The first cause is undoubtedly the high character of the members of the teaching staff. The purpose of Jefferson, that the professors should be the ablest that he could secure, was more adequately gained than is usual in the case of the founders of colleges. A majority of his teachers came from Europe. George Long was without doubt the most famous. The brevity of his career, however (of only three years), was not sufficient to prevent his influence upon his fellow-teachers and students becoming great, and it has proved even to be lasting. He fixed high standards. With him there came from over the sea, Blaettermann as a professor of modern languages; Key, like Long a Master of Arts of the Cambridge Trinity, and Charles Bonnycastle, who was educated at the military academy at Woolwich. Among their associates or successors were George Tucker, Dunglison, Gessner Harrison, and William B. Rogers. The value of the scholastic character and of the influence of the teachers of the University of Virginia was great.

United with this primary cause and, in a degree, springing forth from it as a reason of the high place of the University, are the elective system of studies, the high conditions for securing a degree, and the honor system of discipline. The height of the attainment necessary to secure a degree is evidenced by the fact that only about thirteen per cent of the matriculates have in its entire history come up for graduation, and more than half have been content with remaining as students one year only. The decimation of a class as it passes through a course has been large.

Whether the standards have been held too high might be open to question; but it should be said that the height of the standard necessary for receiving a degree has vastly aided in upholding all the better conditions of the higher education throughout the South. It also might be said that the conditions for admission had been kept too low.

The application of the elective system of studies has proved to be a great benefit. The application has been somewhat more generous than has been suffered in most institutions in later years, for the student has been permitted to pursue one study or one group of studies. Through poverty, or through the desire to become proficient in a single subject, he has been allowed to devote himself to a single one of the schools which constitute the University curriculum. The influence of this opportunity upon the elevation of the people of the South who have not been able to give themselves the advantage of a complete education has been very great.[1]

It is also evident that the honor system of discipline maintained at the University has been of great worth. The type of southern manhood has easily lent itself to this system, and it has in turn tended to make this system the more vigorous and noble.

Through these causes there obtained a high and thorough system of intellectual training. One of the more eminent, able, and useful of American educators, writing in 1845 to the Legislature of Virginia, affirmed that the system of the University of Virginia was higher and more thorough as a scientific and literary training than had previously been accessible in the United States.[2]

In this same period there were at least two other universities which were making worthy contributions toward human enlightenment and betterment. They were the two universities of the two Carolinas. Both of these universities were, like every institution, prosperous by reason of the ability and energy, skill and character of their teaching staff. Caldwell, the first president

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[1] Trent's "Influence of the University of Virginia upon Southern Life and Thought," p. 156.

[2] William Barton Rogers, "Life and Letters," vol. i, p. 400.

of the University at Chapel Hill, a graduate of Princeton, able, alert, zealous in labors, was aided by Mitchell, Olmsted, and Andrews. Mitchell for forty years devoted himself to astronomical and similar investigations. His service touched the imagination of the people. He lies buried in an humble mound at the highest point of a mountain of the Blue Ridge which bears his name. Olmsted's career was brief, injected between two periods of service at Yale, but it added to the luster of the institution. The term of Andrews was more brief than even that of Olmsted, covering only the six years from 1822 to 1828. But the service of one whose text-books and lexicon have become familiar to every schoolboy and schoolgirl represents a most useful period in the history of the University.

Through this quartette of notable scholars and teachers and their associates a high scholastic character was maintained. This character was in a large degree the transplanting of the influence of Yale College, which, throughout this period, was becoming the mother of colleges as well as their nurse.

The higher education was quite as well maintained in South Carolina as in the state directly to the north. These institutions are well represented in the college at Columbia. Fortunate in the personalities which prevailed in its founding and first official relationships, such as Paul Hamilton, and Jonathan Maxcy, it was also at once fortunate and unfortunate in their successors. Thomas Cooper was president from 1820 to 1834. Born in London in 1759, educated at Oxford, possessed of a tempestuous nature, he went to France in the midst of the Revolution. For his visit to France, Edmund Burke thought it worth while to attack him in the House of Commons. Coming to America, he practiced law in Pennsylvania. Entering political life he was made a commissioner and a judge. Removed in 1811 for arbitrary or petty conduct, he applied himself to the study of chemistry. He was successively professor of the subject in Dickinson College and the University of Pennsylvania. Selected by Jefferson for a place in the Faculty of the University of Virginia, and retiring because his Unitarian views were not satisfactory to the orthodox party, he was, in 1819, chosen professor of chemistry in South Carolina College. A year later he was made president *pro*

tempore, and in 1821 was chosen to the permanent office. For almost the next score of years until his death, in 1839, he was one of the great personalities of the state as well as of the University. His mind was acute, alert, and independent. His acquisitions in the new subject of chemistry were large. His capacity for acquiring and imparting knowledge was great, and his self-confidence was nothing less than colossal. He seems to have been at home in the elements of most subjects, and had that sense of pride which is a characteristic of superficial scholarship. His mind was facile. It easily turned to diverse subjects. His acquaintance with Pitt and Fox, Sheridan, Erskine, Burke, Robespierre, and Priestley, he made the most of both as a person and teacher. His will was dogmatic and tenacious. He loved excitement. Partisanship was natural to him. His years in South Carolina covered a great crisis in the history of that state. He preferred the discussions of the Nullification period to the teaching of the sober truths of chemistry.

It should also be said that Dr. Cooper was regarded as an infidel. The strongest feelings of his strong nature were those directed against Christianity. He believed the Christian system to be a system of fraud and imposture. This belief he felt it his duty to declare. His nature was free from concealment. He treated the beliefs and doctrines of Christianity with contempt. In society as well as in college he felt free to express his opinions.

The influence of a man of such ability, character, strength, and beliefs was great. It was an influence which aroused worthy opposition. Enemies, personal and official, he made. The House of Representatives of South Carolina requested an investigation of his official doings. The charges made against him were dismissed, but their dismissal was regarded as an act of charity. The people demanded his resignation, and after fourteen years of service he was removed.[1]

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[1] In his autobiography, Dr. J. Marion Sims, who entered South Carolina College in 1830, says:

"Dr. Cooper was president of the college. He was a man considerably over seventy years old, a remarkable looking man. He was never called Dr. Cooper, but 'Old Coot.' 'Coot' is the short for 'cooter,' a name generally

In the year following the retirement of Thomas Cooper as president, Francis Lieber became a professor of history and political economy in South Carolina College. Francis Lieber did not desire to go south after eight years spent in the north in a struggle for a living and for a place, but he went south, he affirms, simply to secure a support for his family. In 1835 he wrote:

"I feel, now, far removed from active, progressive and intellectual life." [1]

A little later in the same year he wrote to Charles Sumner,

"How do I like the South? Why, if you promise to keep strictly to yourself what I write on such subjects, I will tell you that, as a scientific European feels when he arrives in the United States, so does a man feel when he goes from the North to the South. The people seem to be fine, open-hearted; in fact, I have become acquainted with some who made a most excellent impression." [2]

In 1841 he wrote:

"You can scarcely imagine with what longing I look for the arrival of a vessel which is to bring me new publications from Europe, for you

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applied South to the terrapin, and the name suited him exactly. He was less than five feet high, and his head was the biggest part of the whole man. He was a perfect taper from the side of his head down to his feet; he looked like a wedge with a head on it. He was a man of great intellect and remarkable learning. . . . Dr. Cooper exerted a very bad influence on the interests of the college. He was a pronounced infidel, and every year lectured on the 'Authenticity of the Pentateuch' to the senior class, generally six or eight weeks before their graduation.

"There was no necessity for his delivering this lecture. It did not belong to his chair of political economy. Nor was it necessary as president. I have always wondered why the trustees of the college permitted him to go out of the routine of the duties of his office and deliver a lecture of this sort to a set of young men just starting out in the world. I am amazed, at this late day, that a country as full of Presbyterianism and bigotry as that was at that time should have tolerated a man in his position, especially when advocating and lecturing upon such an unnecessary subject. Dr. Cooper lived before his day. If he had flourished now, in the days of Darwin and Tyndall and Huxley, he would have been a greater infidel than any or all three of them put together."—"Story of My Life," pp. 82, 83.

[1] Harley's "Life of Francis Lieber," p. 71.

[2] Ibid.

can have no conception how a man in my situation feels. I live at the South, it is true, but with respect to culture and intellectual life, and all a man requires who takes part in the stirring movements of our times, I might as well be in Siberia." [1]

Yet for twenty-one years Lieber continued. They were not happy years. He opposed the Calvinist notions of the Presbyterian church. He wished to be taken away from a land where the skies were so blue and the negro so black. Nominated for the presidency of the College, he was defeated upon the ground of his utterances against secession and against his belief in a certain type of Christian doctrine. His writings had made him one of the most famous of American scholars. Faithful as a teacher, his leisure time he devoted to the preparation of his three great works. While he was a member of the Faculty he received two invitations to return to Germany. He was asked to become a lecturer in the University of Berlin, but he preferred the service in a college of a state which was a part of the American Union.

The method of teaching which Lieber embodied was as significant as the truth which he presented. He was an expositor. His subject he presented in language vigorous and compact, and he illustrated it by fitting examples. He brought to the illumination of his themes, poetry and fiction, as well as fact. Geography and chronology were not, however, dissipated in declamation. Blackboards and maps and tests of collateral reading were constantly in use. The spirit of his own mighty personality caused, however, the whole subject to warm the heart, as well as to enlighten the mind, of the student. In the earlier time, he stood forth as one of the few great teachers touched by the modern spirit. But the service he rendered in and to America was soon to be transferred from a college in South Carolina to Columbia College.

A third personality of conspicuous relations in the South Carolina college was William C. Preston. Preston remains among the most prominent of all men who have for a time served as college president. Born in Philadelphia in 1794, while Congress, of which his father was a member, was in session,

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Cooper,

[1] Harley's "Life of Francis Lieber," p. 72.

he inherited noblest traditions. His mother was a sister of Patrick Henry. Matriculating at Washington College, he was obliged by weakness of lungs to seek a milder climate than Lexington offered. In 1809 he was admitted into the Sophomore class of South Carolina College. He graduated in the class of 1812 and with distinction. He traveled extensively in the West, and resided for some time in Europe. In 1822 he took up his residence in Columbia, and began the practice of law. He presently secured a great place as a lawyer. In 1828 he entered the State Legislature. In 1836 he became a senator of the United States. When the state concluded in the presidential contest to give its support to Van Buren and his party, he resigned, and in 1842 returned to the practice of the law. In 1845 he was made president of the College. In this office he continued until 1851.

An excellent classical scholar for his time and the most eloquent orator that the South, ever conspicuous for its sons of eloquent speech, has had, his brief career as president was most brilliant. His health was infirm. The six years of his term were marked by several riots and rebellions of students. But his own reputation added to the fame of the College. It is probable that in the half-dozen years of his presidency South Carolina College was the most famous institution of the South.

In the first half of the last century the University of North Carolina embodied the scholastic ideal of education. The type of the ideal was largely scientific. Mitchell and Olmsted were distinguished scholars and teachers. The classical element, however, was not lacking. In the same period the college of the state immediately to the south was embodying the ideal of education for public service. Lieber was the scholastic exposition of political doctrine, theory and duty. Preston embodied the purpose of the devotion of great talent to the service of the state. These two institutions in two commonwealths bearing the same name represented two permanent ideals and methods of the higher education.

The history of the higher education in the two central states lying immediately to the west of the Carolinas down to the year 1860 was also unique and diverse. It was a record of high hopes, and of large plans interpreted in terms of the emotions and

of consequent failure. In Kentucky, a state university system, which had its origin as early as the Act of the Virginia Legislature of 1780, began also early to disintegrate. The forty-seven county academies which were a part of the scheme failed by reason of a lack of literary and of pecuniary support. The academy system was far in advance of the demands of public opinion. The endowment of lands was inadequate; the management was inefficient. The University itself, founded two years before the close of the eighteenth century, struggled for existence. It was by turns prosperous and in distress. Its endowment was small; its number of students was at times large. In its most prosperous period of 1821 it had two hundred and eighty-two, which was more than those enrolled at either Princeton, Dartmouth, or Union, and was only four less than those enrolled at Harvard, and thirty-seven less than those enrolled at Yale. Its president in its most significant epoch was Alva Woods, who, in 1828, resigned a professorship in Brown University to accept its chief office. The time of its prosperity was short. It passed largely into the management of a local board of trustees of the city of Lexington. Denominational influences presently laid hold of it. The Presbyterian church and the Methodist church in turn became responsible for its administration. Late in the sixth decade it returned to the control of the state, but it had lost largely its university character, becoming an agency for the training of teachers. The history, therefore, of the higher education in Kentucky as embodied in its chief historic university has been a history of high hopes, of large plans conceived in terms of the emotions, of varying conditions of poverty and of incompetency. The result, up to the year of 1860, was nothing less than comparative inefficiency and failure.

The failure of the university which is known as Transylvania sprang from several conditions. Among them were the failure of the state to commit itself to the policy of the support of the higher education. The people of the state were not sufficiently interested in this great cause to tax themselves for its promotion. The higher education as also embodied in Transylvania University suffered by reason of the University being the subject of double control. It was in part an enterprise of the

state; it was also in part subject to management by a church. Either force, the civil or the religious, might have fostered unto a large success the institution, but both could not work together in efficient harmony.

A condition not dissimilar prevailed in Tennessee for the first half of the nineteenth century. The University of Nashville and the University of Tennessee represented the two foci whence could be drawn the ellipse of the history of the higher education which was controlled in a formal way by the state. The University of Nashville was chartered in 1826. The University of Tennessee, having its beginnings as far back as the Territorial Legislature of 1794, began its career as an agency of the higher education also in that year. The beginnings of both institutions were small; progress was slow; endowments were inadequate; the service was inefficient, and the scholastic results were slight. The institutions at Nashville and at Knoxville, like so many other institutions in the newer parts of the country, were far in advance of public opinion regarding the necessity of the higher education. These institutions sought to become leaders of the people unto the best life. The simple fact was that the people had no desire for such leadership. Scholarly ideals possessed no attractiveness. The original settlers of these states were distinguished more for their hardihood and bravery than for their sympathy with learning and culture. The most that could be done for the advancement of scholarship was embodied in a system of secondary schools and in private academies. The public schools were inefficiently supported, and the academies were few.

But while in these four states of the Carolinas, Kentucky, and Tennessee the higher education, as a part of the system of public education, was passing through its diverse stages of prosperity or adversity, several denominational colleges were advancing. The denominational college in these states was advantaged by the condition of public opinion respecting religion. Orthodoxy was the prevailing atmosphere. The Scotch and the Scotch-Irish, who came either directly into the central south or by way of the northern states, brought with them their Calvinistic tenets. Throughout the first decades of the century, however, the French influence in these as in other commonwealths was strong. The

writings of Voltaire, Volney, and of the Encyclopædists were widely read. By no part of the community were they more constantly read than by the academic. Professors as well as students were led to surrender their belief in Christianity as a divine system. Several professors of the University of North Carolina abandoned their Christian faith in the first decades of the century.

Out of this condition arose an appreciation of the need of the establishment of the Christian college. Such a college, in the existing organization of the Christian system and of the church, was a denominational one. In these four states, therefore, the denominational college sprang up and flourished. Among the representative colleges of the denominational type was Center College of Kentucky. Beginning its history in 1819, it has now become the oldest college in the state with a continuous name and corporate existence. A noble conception of the function of the higher education, administrative and scholastic needs far exceeding the means of supply, executive efficiency mingling with executive inefficiency, enterprise, constant perseverance, few students increasing to many and many falling to few, the struggle for endowment through ecclesiastical methods and personal solicitation, a constant enlargement of the curriculum and of the increase of scientific and other facilities—represent the essential elements in its history as they do represent the essential elements of most institutions in a new country. The denominational college in these central commonwealths has given to the church not only a learned ministry, but also to the state well-trained citizens. Both the denominational and the state colleges of the states of the south, with the exception of the University of Virginia, have trained a larger proportion of their citizens for public service than obtains in most colleges of the northern states. In the University of Virginia a larger share of graduates are found in the medical and the legal professions. In the excellence of the character of its medical school lies a part of the cause of this condition.

Center College, however, is only a type. It represents colleges of the Baptist, of the Disciple, of the Methodist, and of other faiths which have rendered to and through their churches

services characterized by great sacrifice and by results no less precious, both for the state and for the whole community.

The general difficulties attending the progress of the higher education in the southern states have been felt the more keenly the farther south were found the institutions of this education. The nature of these difficulties was well expressed in the last report of Dr. Manly, for eighteen years President of the University of Alabama, in saying: "the paucity and insufficiency of schools, the indulgent spirit of wealthy parents, and the alleged indisposition of Southern youth to severe application." [1] When to these special difficulties have been added those which belong to every condition of man—the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes and the pride of life—the struggle for the establishment and support of colleges and universities in the extreme south has inevitably been long and hard. In no states have these difficulties been greater than in Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi.

In Louisiana, under the Spanish or French government, the appreciation of the higher education was not, however, entirely lacking, for in 1805, two years after the territory was transferred to the United States, an act was passed instituting the University of Orleans. The preamble of the act in inflated phrase declares that:

"Whereas, learning hath ever been found the ablest advocate of genuine liberty, the best supporter of rational religion, and the source of the only solid and imperishable glory which nations can acquire;

"And forasmuch as literature and philosophy furnish the most useful and pleasing occupations, improving and varying the enjoyments of prosperity, affording relief under the pressure of misfortune, and hope and consolation in the hour of death." [2]

The ornateness of these phrases is quite unlike the soberness of the style of the great article of the Ordinance of 1787. But, as a result of these high-spun notions a large board of Regents was constituted, which established a college of liberal learning

[1] "History of Education in Alabama, 1702–1889," by Willis G. Clark, p. 77.

[2] "The History of Education in Louisiana," by Edwin Whitfield Fay, p. 27.

in New Orleans, and an academy and public library in each county. The income necessary for these ambitious undertakings was to be secured by annual lotteries of an aggregate annual value not to exceed fifty thousand dollars. For nearly a score of years the institution offered instruction. Among the graduates was the most famous of Louisiana authors, Gayarré. But the endeavor was found to be in advance of the educational sentiments of the people. Success was transient. The population of the state in 1810 was only seventy-six thousand; and in 1820 it had no more than doubled. It was insufficient to provide a number of students large enough even with the endowment to meet the cost of administration. The pupils seem never to have exceeded one hundred. The regents apparently were not able to secure the allegiance of the people of the commonwealth. The college was largely a local institution.

In part at least as an act of opposition to the college of New Orleans was established the College of Louisiana. The institution in New Orleans was pervaded with French influences. The college bearing the name of the state was established in the country village of Jackson, and its environment was English. It too, like the older institution, was found to be in advance of the demand of the people for the higher education. After a period of adversity quite similar to that of the college at New Orleans, it also declined. Colleges bearing the names of Jefferson and of Franklin were also established in the fourth decade of the century. They too perished.

The history of these and other colleges was characterized by a process of subsidizing. The state adopted these institutions and made them her beneficiaries. The amount given to the College at New Orleans, between 1811 and 1836, was almost $250,000; and to the College of Louisiana, from 1832 to 1844, was about $200,000; to the College of Jefferson, from 1831 to 1846, it was almost $250,000, and to the College of Franklin, from 1831 to 1843, $66,000. Such largesses were indeed extravagant benevolences for a state which in 1830 had a population of only two hundred and fifteen thousand and in 1840 of only three hundred and fifty-two thousand. It was the age of beneficiarism. So far forth did this tendency go that

in the Legislature of 1836 and 1837 a bill was passed authorizing the governor to provide the free students of Jefferson College with clothing and other articles necessary for their admission, and to cause these personal furnishings to be renewed when necessary. Be it said, however, that the governor vetoed the bill. It was a fine example of rank educational socialism.

Although seventeen years divide the beginning of the University of Alabama from the beginning of the University of Mississippi, yet the similarity of their origins and immediately subsequent history is great. Their common record begins in large grants of land made for the purpose of endowment, and proceeds by similar methods into a not dissimilar crisis. In the sale of their land at low, too low, prices, in inefficiency in the collection of notes given in payment, and also in a lamentable lack of wisdom in the investment of funds secured by the sale of land, they embody an identical educational history. The first president of the University of Alabama was Alva Woods. His acceptance was preceded by the declination of the office by Patterson of the University of Virginia and by Lindsley, president of the University of Nashville. A member of a family of distinguished scholars and of educational administrators, a graduate of Phillips Andover and of Harvard, Woods was among the earlier American students who went to Europe for purposes of study. In the years 1822 and 1823 he was a student in Oxford and Cambridge, Edinburgh and Glasgow, and he was also a visitor, if not a student, at the principal schools of France and of Italy. In 1824 he was chosen to a professorship of mathematics and of natural philosophy in Brown University. On the conclusion of the fourth year of his service he was, as already indicated, chosen president of Transylvania University of Kentucky. In this place he continued until 1831, when he was made the first president of the University of Alabama. His brief career of six years, like the term of his successor Manly, was chiefly characterized by disorders and disturbances prevailing among the students. Southern students have always claimed a greater degree of personal liberty than those of the North have asked. In the University of Alabama and of Mississippi this liberty became not infrequently an individual and riotous license.

A special cause of constant rebelliousness among the Alabama students was a code of laws which was itself designed to put an end to disorder. The most obnoxious part of this code was known as the Exculpation Article. This article was introduced from South Carolina College. It was itself not unlike a law which prevailed for some time at Yale College. In this article it was declared that:

"In ordinary cases for mere college misdemeanors no student will be called upon to give information against another, but when several are known to contain among themselves the guilty person or persons, that the innocent may not suffer equally with the guilty, they are all liable to be severally called up and *each to be put upon his own exculpation*, unless the magnanimity of the guilty shall relieve the Faculty from the necessity of this expedient by an ingenuous confession of his or their own fault. If any student, when thus permitted to declare his own innocence, shall decline to exculpate himself, he shall be regarded as taking the guilt of the offense upon himself, encountering all the consequences.

"If a student shall deny that he is guilty, that shall be taken as *prima facie* proof of his innocence; but, if it shall afterwards appear, from satisfactory, competent evidence, that he was really guilty, he shall be considered as unworthy to remain at the University.

"Should the author or authors of any misdemeanor, by concealment of his or their own guilt, permit an innocent fellow-student to suffer punishment for an offense which he or they, and not the other, was guilty, for such dishonorable conduct he or they shall be immediately dismissed from the University, and the case reported to the board of trustees." [1]

Never were college rules and regulations better qualified to quicken disorder. These rules and regulations succeeded constantly and conspicuously in promoting outbreaks. Suspensions, not of one, but of many students resulted from the application of such methods. In the year 1843 every student except a single senior and two freshmen were under suspension. The whole scholastic life and work of the University were often interrupted by the refusing of students either to divulge the names of fellow-students guilty of offenses, or to acknowledge their own guilt, or to declare their own innocence.

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[1] "History of Education in Alabama, 1702–1889," by Willis G. Clark.

Although many conditions obtaining in the first years of the University of Alabama were unfavorable to the establishment of a school of the higher learning, yet out of those conditions came forth a band of students of large ability and usefulness. Such men as Jeremiah Clements, writer and Senator; Oran M. Roberts, Governor of Texas; Alexander B. Meek, poet and historian; Clement Claiborne Clay, Federal and Confederate Senator; William Russell Smith, member of Congress, and scores of others who were leading citizens in the first half-century of Alabama's statehood were among the graduates of the first six years. The cause of such results lies, without doubt, in the teaching and influence of Henry Tutwiler and Henry W. Hilliard. Although Hilliard filled the Chair of English Literature for only two years, and although Tutwiler's professorship was limited to six, yet they inspired scholastic work and formed noble manhood.

In respect to the general character of students, too, a marked similarity prevailed between the University of Alabama and the University of Mississippi. Twenty-five years after the opening of the younger University, in 1848, it was said by one who was himself present in its first years that " very rarely, if ever, was an institution attended by a body of students so disorderly and turbulent as the first students of the university, in mass, proved to be. It is true that among those early students there were some of the first young men of the country; but in point of morals and intellectual advancement, the large body of the students were idle, uncultivated, and ungovernable." [1]

Such a condition was the result of the union of personal liberty with the remoteness of the state from the centers of civilized orderliness. This remoteness was a matter of preference. The people who settled the rich lands of Mississippi were possessed of comparative wealth and of culture. They came from many parts, from states as remote as those of New England, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, and Kentucky. Not a few of them bore diplomas from the three oldest colleges, as well as from the colleges of North Carolina and Kentucky. In the generation from 1810 to 1840 the sons of these immigrants to

[1] "History of Education in Mississippi," p. 138, by Edward Mayes.

Mississippi were sent to the older states of the east and of the north for their education. But not far from the year 1840 arose a strong sentiment for the education of the sons of these families in their own institutions. The chief cause of the origin of this feeling lay in the growth and increasing dominance of the demand for the abolition of slavery. In 1833 the American Anti-Slavery Society was organized. Six years after was formed the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. These organizations and other movements designed to promote immediate abolition swept aside the theory of gradual abolition which had for many years prevailed. A feeling of resentment was aroused. The aggressiveness of the abolition movement was regarded as an insult to the South and a menace to the perpetuity of the Union. A sentiment of bitterness against all northern states was created and quickened. As a result the expediency of sending the sons of southern families into northern colleges for their education was questioned. Governor McNutt said in 1839: "Patriotism, no less than economy, urges upon us the duty of educating our children at home. In early life the strongest impressions are made. Those opposed to us in principle, and alienated in interest, cannot safely be entrusted with the education of our sons and daughters."[1] In the same year a debating society discussed the question whether "It is more advisable to have the youth of Mississippi educated at the literary institutions within the State than to send them abroad."[1] In 1844 Governor Brown, in a message which dealt with the incorporation of the State University, said: "The practice of sending the youth of the country abroad to be educated ought to be discouraged. Instead of sending our youth abroad to be educated, where they sometimes contract unfortunate habits, and grow up with false prejudices against home institutions and laws, they may be kept at home comparatively under the advisory care of their parents, surrounded by those institutions and protected by those laws which it is proper they should be early brought to love and reverence."[1]

A feeling of alarm and indignation prevailed. The fear of the danger of the propagandism of immediate abolition was re-

[1] "History of Education in Mississippi," by Edward Mayes, p. 127.

garded as an argument sufficient for the state itself to educate its sons. Notwithstanding these growing sentiments many families continued to send their children to the colleges of the north.

But the statistics of attendance at the three colleges of the North, best known in Southern states, in the middle and preceding decades of the century fail to indicate that argument and oration served their purpose in keeping Southern students at home. In the year 1830 three students were enrolled at Princeton as coming from Mississippi; a similar number was also found in attendance in 1840; but in 1850 the number had increased to seventeen, and even in 1860 to nineteen. In Yale the number in attendance upon the last year of the second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth decades from Mississippi were respectively four, six, two, five, and two. At Harvard the numbers were in 1820 three, in 1830 nine, in 1840 two, in 1850 four, and in 1860 six. The chief time which shows a marked change in the number of students coming to the Northern colleges from the South is found in the third decade of the century. The number of students at Harvard College from Southern states in 1820 was fifty; the number in 1830 had fallen to sixteen; in 1820 Princeton had forty-two students from the South, in 1830 only seventeen. But the number at Yale, meantime, had increased from forty-seven to sixty-nine. Though at Harvard the number from South Carolina fell off from twenty-two to two, and in Princeton from three to none, yet in Yale College the number increased from nine to sixteen.

The facts in detail are stated on the following pages.

Out of the condition of state rights arose the University of Mississippi. It was incorporated in February, 1844. The first meeting of the Board of Trustees was held in the first month of 1845, the first appropriation for buildings was made in 1846, and in the autumn of 1848 the formal work of instruction began.

The history of the dozen years of the University of Alabama up to the outbreak of the Civil War was a record of prosperity and enlargement. Its prosperity was due in a large degree to one man in whom the history of the University of Alabama and the history of the University of Mississippi are united. Frederick Augustus Porter Barnard was professor of several sciences

NUMBER OF STUDENTS AT HARVARD FROM THE SOUTHERN STATES.

STATES.	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	Total.
Alabama	1	..	4	3	3	11
Arkansas	..	..	..	..	..	..
Florida	1	..	..	..	..	1
Georgia	3	2	5	11	1	22
Kentucky	5	..	..	1	8	14
Louisiana	3	4	3	9	4	23
Maryland	3	5	6	10	11	35
Mississippi	3	..	2	4	6	15
Missouri	..	..	1	2	12	15
North Carolina	..	1	1	4	6	12
South Carolina	22	2	5	10	3	42
Tennessee	..	..	1	1	3	5
Virginia	9	2	6	10	6	33
Total	50	16	34	65	63	228

	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860
The total number of Students at Harvard	387	412	442	596	896

NUMBER OF STUDENTS AT YALE COLLEGE FROM THE SOUTHERN STATES.

STATES.	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	Total.
Alabama	1	2	13	7	..	23
Florida	..	..	..	2	3	5
Georgia	9	5	12	16	1	43
Kentucky	2	3	5	7	2	19
Louisiana	3	3	8	11	2	27
Mississippi	4	6	2	5	2	19
North Carolina	9	3	6	1	2	21
South Carolina	9	16	6	6	..	37
Tennessee	..	..	3	3	6	12
Texas	..	..	..	..	1	1
Virginia	8	11	8	9	1	37
Maryland	2	20	3	3	10	38
Missouri	..	..	1	2	3	6
Totals	47	69	67	72	33	288

	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860
Total number of students at Yale College	421	502	574	555	521

NUMBER OF STUDENTS AT COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY (PRINCETON) FROM THE SOUTHERN STATES.

STATES.	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	Total.
Virginia	11	1	26	16	6	60
Kentucky	4	..	2	2	4	12
Maryland	8	6	16	29	27	86
South Carolina	3	..	8	5	14	30
North Carolina	7	4	10	12	5	38
Tennessee	3	..	2	4	6	15
District of Columbia	5	2	9	2	2	20
Georgia	1	..	5	8	11	25
Louisiana	..	1	7	9	8	25
Mississippi	..	3	3	17	19	42
Alabama	..	..	10	8	7	25
Texas	..	..	..	3	..	3
Arkansas	..	..	..	..	2	2
Florida	..	..	..	..	2	2
Totals	42	17	98	115	113	385

	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860
Total number of students at College of New Jersey (Princeton)	121	87	227	236	312

and of mathematics for seventeen years, from 1837 to 1854 in the University of Alabama, and from 1854 to 1861 he served the University of Mississippi, either as professor or as its chief executive. Barnard's career in Alabama succeeded his retirement from a tutorship at Yale, and his retirement from the chancellorship of the University of Mississippi was, after three years, followed by the beginning of a service of about a quarter century as President of Columbia College in the city of New York. Bar-

nard was among the great scholars and teachers of the two decades previous to the beginning of the Civil War. He was also for the last third of this period an efficient executive. His scholarship was broad, his industry unflagging, his heart warm, and his judgment sound. In the years immediately previous to the beginning of the war he had succeeded in making the new University of Mississippi of commanding importance and wide usefulness. The scientific equipment was unusually adequate both in apparatus and in collections. The people had begun to take great pride in their State University. Despite the lack of the feeling of " peace, tranquility, permanence " which Barnard expressed himself as realizing in 1859,[1] yet the University of the State represented the elements of the highest worth in and for the commonwealth. But this prosperity and the hopefulness of increasing power and enlarging opportunity, were presently and suddenly brought to an end.[2]

Each of the great churches was administering its colleges in

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[1] "Memoirs of Frederick A. P. Barnard," p. 240.

[2] "With the accession to the presidency of Barnard in 1864, there came to the service of the University one of the greatest figures, in many ways the greatest figure, in the whole history of our American education. His active and restless mind, which grew neither old nor tired, planned unceasingly and saw with astounding clearness of vision. Barnard is the greatest prophetic figure in the history of modern education. He first saw that the traditional college course was no longer adequate to meet the needs of modern youth; that it must be supplemented, extended, readjusted, and made more elastic, if it would serve under new conditions the same ends that it had served so well in the past. He exalted science and scientific research to their place of honor, and he swept with his keen vision the whole field of education and called upon the university to enter upon it as a subject of study and to treat teaching as a serious profession and not merely as an occupation. He gave his powerful influence to the movement for the opening of educational opportunities to women, and he felt keenly the limitations under which they suffered in his day. He looked out into new fields of inquiry and saw the significance of those studies in language, in archæology, in history and political science, in the physical and mathematical sciences, in experimental medicine, and in the science of life that are now gladly included in the wide circle of our University's care. What this generation has done Barnard planned and urged. Much of what remains for the next generation to accomplish he foresaw and exhibited."—Nicholas Murray Butler, "From King's College to Columbia University 1754–1904." *Educational Review*, vol. xxviii, No. 5, pp. 515, 516.

each of the great Southern states in the first half of the century. Without doubt the strongest of these colleges were those of the Presbyterian faith. Among them were: in Virginia, Hampden-Sidney; in North Carolina, Davidson; in South Carolina, Erskine; in Georgia, Oglethorpe; and in Kentucky, Center. The Baptists had in Virginia, Richmond; in North Carolina, Wake Forest; in South Carolina, Furman; in Georgia, Mercer University; in Alabama, Howard, and in Tennessee, Union University. The Methodists controlled in Virginia, Randolph-Macon, Emory and Henry; in North Carolina, Trinity; in Georgia, Emory, and in Alabama, LeGrange. Other churches, too, were carrying on colleges, which, however, had not attained the strength and permanence that belonged to those of the three great denominations of the Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist faiths.

In the first half-century, the number of students enrolled in all the colleges of the South was greater, in proportion to the population, than the number found in northern institutions. In the year 1840, the South had one student for every 376 of the population, while the rest of the country had one for 550. The proportional increase, too, of the attendance upon the colleges for the twenty years previous to the beginning of the great war was larger in the southern than in the northern states. But it must be remembered that the standards of education in the South were not so high as those of the northern community. Yet despite the separation of the communities of the southern states, these states were, for a generation previous to 1861, making rapid and great advance in giving the advantages of the higher education to their sons.

CHAPTER XII

COLLEGE CONDITIONS IN NEW ENGLAND

At the time that new colleges and universities were being founded in the South and the West, the older colleges in the New England and Middle States were getting strength for a richer life and larger influence. New colleges were also arising in these older states. The time was favorable to such enrichment and enlargement. The successive decades of the century from 1820 to 1860 were, with brief intervals, periods of intellectual and ethical quickening. The decade beginning with 1831 and the following years were the era of the seer and the prophet. The time was one of beginnings: it was a period of newness. The westward movement of population was slowly pressing its way between the mountains and the great river and passing beyond. Mighty anticipations of mighty powers were filling the hearts and minds of men. In the middle year of the fourth decade, Morse set up his telegraphic instruments in his room in the University of the City of New York. Visions of wealth were filling the public eye. Values in certain lands reached a figure which they have never since touched. Reforms were in the air. Apostles of newness abounded. The Fifth Monarchy was indeed to be reëstablished. It was the age of the transcendentalists; *Redeunt Saturnia regna*; it was the age of anti-slavery, of temperance, of nonresistance, and "come-outism." Everbody had a mission; and, as Lowell says, his mission was spelled with a capital M.

These influences were pregnant within as well as without college walls. Within academic walls they were manifest, however, rather in general atmospheres and conditions than in specific movements or forces.

Throughout the first two generations of the century the power prevailing in the colleges was the power of personality. The

presidents and the professors of the time were great characters. They were not great scholars. They were not distinguished for contributions made to either scientific, linguistic, or philosophic scholarship; but they were great men. They constituted the colleges; their biography formed academic history.

For the first half of the nineteenth century Yale College, at the time the most national of all colleges, was largely constituted by three men: Jeremiah Day, Benjamin Silliman, and James L. Kingsley. They were called into academic service in the first years of the great administration of the great Dwight. Dwight was himself, if not the greatest of all the presidents of the first two generations of the century, among the greatest. He illustrated the worth of personality in college teaching and government. His administration covered the last five years of the eighteenth and the first seventeen of the nineteenth century. The grandson of Jonathan Edwards, he was superior to the most illustrious graduate of Yale in executive efficiency as he was inferior in philosophic acumen and discrimination. He came to the college as president when its teaching staff consisted of a single professor and three tutors. He discredited the system of calling into the service of the institution those who had in other vocations than that of teaching, usually the ministry, proved their ability. He introduced the system of selecting as tutors and professors those who were willing to devote their lives to the work of college teaching. Under this method he invited to be his associates Jeremiah Day, Benjamin Silliman, and James L. Kingsley. Like Whewell of Oxford, he aimed at universal knowledge. Under this impulse he was, like all men of the type, inclined to sacrifice thoroughness to extent of acquisition. His service as teacher and executive was as tireless as his scholarship was broad. He was the sole instructor of the Senior class; he served as professor of English literature and rhetoric, and also of divinity. He preached two sermons each Sunday. He also gave instruction in theology to graduates. To these labors of teaching he added the work of writing. Although the five volumes of his theology represent sermons, yet they do form a treatise which, despite its verbosity and obviousness, has much value for those who propose to become clergymen. The four

volumes of his Travels are an interpretation of the character and conditions of American life near the beginning of the century, as were DeTocqueville's at the middle and Bryce's at the close. Witnesses agree that Dwight was not only a good type of the scholar of his time, but also a great teacher. A dignity that commanded respect, an accuracy that inspired confidence, an ardor that kindled interest, and, at the same time, a kindness that won love, were embodied in the man.[1] He was the paternal type of the teacher and college officer. In administering discipline and preserving order, he depended far more upon his power of persuasion and personal influence than upon rule and regulation. He entered into the heart of the students; understanding their feelings, appreciating their passions, sympathetic with their problems.

In general it should be said that President Dwight was recognized by his contemporaries, both within and without college walls, as possessed of a mind of the creative type, of a heart large, generous, appreciative, of a will vigorous, firm, commanding, and of a moral nature which embodied the highest elements. Of the college presidents of his time and of the decades immediately preceding and succeeding, he, in his face and bearing, most easily suggests his contemporary the first Napoleon. In a certain prophetic quality too, as well as in the power of inspiration, he reminds one of the great Corsican.

As Eleazar Wheelock ruled for more than a generation after his death in the history of Dartmouth College, so Timothy Dwight, by his preference in the choice of his successor and associates, by kinship, vitally influenced the history of Yale College for almost a century. It is told that President Dwight, not long before his death, said to Jeremiah Day, "You must be my successor." The remark thus made illustrates the wisdom of the executive as does the earlier selection of Day to be his professional colleague prove the foresight of the scholar. If Dwight was a personality vigorous, large, intense, Day was also a personality great enough to lay aside many of the personal elements

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[1] Letter of Professor Olmsted, of October 27, 1849, published in Sprague's "Annals of the American Pulpit," vol. ii, p. 160.

of power. Day was in disposition gentle, serene, moderate, kind, reserved; in administration deliberate, prudent, wise, and cautious. Under him the merely personal relation of a single college officer, the president, to the student was largely eliminated. The administration of the college was committed largely to all its officers. The Faculty came to possess new powers. Its councils increased in importance, and its recommendations came to have a new value in the judgment of the Board of Trustees. By its members recommendations for appointment to the teaching staff were made, and through them the daily administration of affairs was conducted. Under the government by the Faculty each member of the body came to feel a certain independence in the conduct of his own department. A sense of responsibility without interference came into being. It should also be said that in the administration of Dwight there sprang up some of the strongest manifestations of college spirit. The *esprit de corps* of the whole academic community was strong. Never had the love of men for a college been warmer. The pride of students in their teachers was great. Olmsted in astronomy, Stanley in mathematics, Larned in English, as well as Hitchcock in the Law School, Knight in the Medical School, and Taylor in the Theological School, were quickening the enthusiasm of students.

These results, which in turn became formative forces, had their origin in no small degree in the wisdom and conservative efficiency of President Day. In 1846 he resigned. He had conferred degrees on thirty successive classes. His term was and still is the longest of any Yale presidency. But his term of president was only a part of the entire period in which he served the college, a period which, in all relationships, covered sixty-nine years. His successor said of him at his funeral:

"I suppose that if the nearly twenty-five hundred graduates who were educated in Yale College between 1817 and 1846 were asked who was the best man they knew, they would, with a very general agreement, assign that high place to Jeremiah Day." [1]

If Dwight was aided in making his term of twenty-two years

[1] "Yale College," vol. i, p. 146.

illustrious by the coöperation of Day, Silliman, and Kingsley, Day, in turn, was also helped and helped even more efficiently by the two other members of the triumvirate. Benjamin Silliman gave his first lecture as professor of chemistry on the fourth of April, 1804, and for more than fifty years he labored continuously in and for the college. His entrance upon his professorship was the introduction of the sciences into the college course. He made his department so efficient that it threatened to injure the worth of other departments. His instruction was given largely by lectures. As a lecturer he was among the most attractive. His style was oratorical. His success in experimenting was constant. He was a speaker of eloquence as well as a teacher and expounder. In his use of language he was facile and felicitous. He was to his students an example as a gentleman as he was an inspiring force to them as a teacher. He founded the Journal bearing his name, which may justly be called the most important scientific publication of the century. The lines of Cowper, which his biographer, Prof. George P. Fisher, puts at the beginning of his first volume, most fittingly interpret his character:

> "Peace to the memory of a man of worth;
> A man of letters, and of manners too!
> Of manners sweet as virtue always wears,
> When gay good-nature dresses her in smiles.
> He graced a college, in which order yet
> Was sacred; and was honour'd, loved and wept,
> By more than one, themselves conspicuous there."

Of the three men to whom Yale College was entrusted for some fifty years, after the death of the elder Dwight, James L. Kingsley was the youngest in academic appointment and the least known. Silliman was the father of natural science in Yale College, Kingsley continued the pursuit of studies established at and followed from the beginning. Kingsley was an academician; he loved the cloister walls. He was a conservative by nature and training. The head of the institution in Latin, and, for a time, also in Greek and Hebrew, the qualities which the study of the classical languages and literatures are supposed

to form he embodied. He was simple, direct, accurate, sincere. He hated pretense and bluster. He lived in and for the college. His writings were vigorous and clear; his criticism was marked by unique intelligence and penetration. His humor was frequent and kindly. Not unlike, in the qualities of conscientiousness and reverence, to his contemporary at Harvard, the famous Popkin, his service to the college, and through the college to the cause of scholarship, was great. Although he was not touched by the German influence as those who followed him, yet when one compares the condition of classical training at the close of his career in the middle of the century with its condition at its beginning, the progress is evident.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, therefore, down to the period of the civil war the interests of Yale College were at the same or different times committed largely to four men, Dwight, Day, Silliman, and Kingsley. They succeeded in making Yale a college of national significance and relations. The causes coöperating in securing these results were several. One cause lay in the length of professorial and executive service. Day was connected with Yale as tutor, professor, president, and fellow sixty-nine years, probably a longer period than belongs to any other person in the history of any American college. Silliman and Kingsley each served Yale for fifty-one years. The period of the combined service of these four men was about two hundred years. Such length and continuity represent consistency of administration as well as efficiency and acceptableness. A further cause was found in the harmony and coöperation with which these men labored and in the mutually supplementary service which they gave. Dwight was a man of vision, of prophetic insight; Day, of detail and of moderation; Silliman, a polished gentleman of public relations; Kingsley, the quiet scholar of the library and the teacher of the classroom. Free from jealousy, inspired by high ideals, they worked for, as well as in, their beloved Yale. They were, furthermore, men of great and well-trained power. In the members of the quartet, and in the quartet itself, great elements of character and of services were happily and efficiently joined.

In the accession of Theodore Dwight Woolsey to the presi-

dency appeared the modern scholar as executive. For fifteen years Woolsey had held the chair of Greek. This chair he was reluctant to surrender. The elements which made his professorship great were the elements which contributed to the eminence and usefulness of his presidency. He embodied, illustrated, and inspired a high type of scholarship, and his character also represented a virile type of manhood. Superficiality in either knowledge or principles he scorned. In him honesty, thoroughness, accuracy, were virtues at once intellectual and ethical. Throughout his administration the hard labor of his students brought forth fruitage both in the realm of personal morals and of mental power. In particular the members of the twenty-five Senior classes which he as president taught remember with special gratitude the severe studies in history, political science, and philosophy through which and to which he led them. The course of study was in his term enlarged as well as strengthened. Great men were added to the teaching staff. In the year in which Woolsey became president Noah Porter entered into the professorship of moral philosophy and metaphysics. Two years later James Hadley was chosen professor of Greek. Two years later still Dana became professor of geology and mineralogy. In 1854 George P. Fisher was chosen Professor of Divinity, and in the following year Hubert A. Newton of mathematics. Later Loomis was elected professor of natural philosophy and astronomy; in 1863 and the following years Northrop, Packard, Coe, and Wheeler were selected to fill leading chairs. The ideals of scholarship were raised. The beginnings of a department of graduate study were made.

Although Woolsey was a classicist, yet in the year 1847 was founded a school of science, which in 1860 became known as the Sheffield Scientific School. The professional schools, too, of long existence, were strengthened. The government of the college, moreover, was so altered through a change in the charter as to substitute for ex-officio members of the Corporation men, themselves graduates of the college, who were chosen by other graduates. Vital and filial interest took the place of official formalism.

The year 1871, therefore, closed the third of three great

administrations of the college, covering more than three-quarters of a century.

While the history of Yale College for the last years of the eighteenth, and into the last third of the nineteenth century was covered by three great administrations, the history of Harvard, after the brief and uneventful service of Weber, was, from 1810 down to the last third of the last century, represented by no less than seven administrations. The Yale officers were greater presidents, the Harvard officers were greater men. The greatest of the seven as president, who also were great in character, were the first two: John Thornton Kirkland and Josiah Quincy. Kirkland was the friend of the students; Quincy, the organizer of the University; Edward Everett was the scholar and the gentleman; Sparks, the author, the scholar, the teacher; Walker, the preacher; Felton, the Hellenist; and Hill, the philosophic scientist.

In Kirkland lived and wrought the traditions of two colleges. His father was the essential founder of Hamilton, and his mother the niece and foster child of Eleazar Wheelock. He embodied the personal characteristics of his father. The elder Kirkland was for many years a missionary to the Oneida Indians, and was so much beloved by the tribe of which he had charge that their chief, at his death, asked to be buried by the side of his pastor. The request was granted, and the two graves remain side by side to this day. This spirit of love the son manifested throughout the eighteen years of his service as president. He embodied the fatherly, possibly the grandfatherly, type of the executive. He knew and loved the students. He ever sought to be of help to them. He was an almoner of charity as well as a counselor, wise and apt. With this principle of love was united a constitutional indolence. Yet in his term great results were accomplished and significant tendencies and movements begun. The college blossomed into the university. The place of the Medical School was enlarged. The Divinity School was founded in 1815, and the Law School two years later. No less than four hundred thousand dollars were received in gifts and bequests, a sum larger than had been received in any similar period of years from the foundation of the college to the beginning of the

administration of Eliot. The standard of exact scholarship was raised, and the standard of general scholarship began to take on noble and refined relations. These results were secured not by executive ability and progressiveness, but, so far as the president was concerned, through the beauty and elevation of his character.

In the administration of Kirkland the term "Faculty" came into use. The term superseded the phrase, the "Immediate Government."[1] The powers remained unchanged. The president was made the head of the Faculty, as he had been the head of the Immediate Government.

The peril of the administration of a president like Kirkland, urbane, affectionate, indolent, is that details of executive service will suffer neglect. This peril becomes actual at times in the history of many colleges. For the details of administration are naturally and largely committed to the president. This danger is always enhanced in case the treasurer of a college fails to interpret and to perform his duties with fullness and accuracy. To the peril arising from his constitutional limitations, Kirkland suffered the disadvantage of having in association with himself as treasurer one illy fitted to do the duties with fullness and accuracy. The treasurer was Judge John Davis, of the United States District Court, a man of great learning and one commanding respect. The learning of Davis and the character of Kirkland did not prevent the finances of the College from falling into dire confusion. But the confusion was not so dire and the evidence of moral negligence not so great as existed in the case of the treasurership of John Hancock thirty years before.

In their selection of presidents, colleges are and ought to be guided by the special demands which should be met in the personality and service of the chief executive. Among the candidates presented upon the retirement of Kirkland were George Ticknor, Edward Everett, and Jared Sparks. But, under the conditions of the time, the choice fell, and fell most fittingly, upon Josiah Quincy. For the performance of the special duties of the great office the traditions and training of Josiah Quincy

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[1] In the "Remarks on Changes lately proposed or adopted in Harvard University" by George Ticknor, in 1825, both terms are used.

gave him peculiar preparation. A son of the father whose name he bore—the associate of Otis and of Warren—entering upon public life soon after his graduation in 1790, becoming a state senator and a member of the National House of Representatives for eight years, a judge of the Municipal Court of Boston, mayor of Boston for five years, he embodied a noble type of diverse and public service. This service sprang out of a character distinguished by uprightness of purpose, intense strength of will, as well as active strenuousness. He was born to rule. Success was with him instinctive and inevitable. Opposition he constantly met and almost as constantly overcame. His moral character was as stainless as his intellectual was high and his executive efficient. The service which he rendered to Harvard College was of distinguished excellence and worth. His administration concerned academic details as well as the larger public relations. He reformed the methods of determining the scholastic rank of students. He introduced an elective system which the College was not able to retain permanently, for it embodied principles which it was not, at the time, prepared to adopt and to use. He brought satisfaction to students in that department of college life in which it is most difficult to give satisfaction—the Commons. He caused students to appreciate the fact—for the time being to their great annoyance—that membership in a student body does not and should not defend them from being subject to public law. "His heart's desire was to make the College a nursery of high-minded, high-principled, well-taught, well-conducted, well-bred gentlemen, fit to take their share gracefully and honorably in the public life."[1] Of him one of his successors, President Walker, said, in the year 1866:

"Sixteen years of more devoted, unremitting, unwearied work in the service of a public institution were never spent by mortal man. And when we call to mind the state of things at the time of his appointment, it seems to me that he will be forever remembered as THE GREAT ORGANIZER OF THE UNIVERSITY."[2]

With the retirement of Quincy there ended, for more than a

[1] Edmund Quincy's "Life of Josiah Quincy," p. 438.
[2] Ibid., p. 482.

score of years, the efficient administration of Harvard College. Those who followed him in the next five administrations were great men, great gentlemen, great scholars; they were not great executives. The first of the five was Edward Everett. Edward Everett was at the time of his election probably the most distinguished and scholarly graduate of the college. His academic biography is significant. He entered college when he was less than fourteen years old. He graduated with the first honors of his class. Before he was of the age of twenty he had become pastor of the Brattle Street Church, and had written a book entitled "A Defense of Christianity," which was received with much approval. Retiring from the brief pastorate, he was, before the age of twenty-one, made the first incumbent of the new Eliot professorship of Greek. In the year 1815 he went abroad, where he remained four years, engaged in study at Göttingen (at that time the most famous University of Germany), at Paris, at Oxford and Cambridge, and in Greece. He returned to America in 1819 possessing a unique equipment for efficient service through his professorship. His accession to his chair was an era in the history of the College. In 1824, on the occasion of the annual Phi Beta Kappa meeting, he proved himself to possess, in addition to other great elements, the graces of eloquent speech. It was the beginning of a service which he rendered through oration and addresses for forty years. In this year, too, he was elected to the National House of Representatives. For ten years he served. Presently he was made governor of Massachusetts, and received four reëlections. He was finally defeated by a majority of one. In his administration as governor he established the Board of Education and the State Normal Schools; he appointed Horace Mann to the place of Secretary of Education. After leaving the office of the governor he lived in Europe about four years. President Harrison appointed him minister at the court of St. James, and there he remained until 1845. He returned to Boston at the time that President Quincy was retiring from the office of president. The voice of the people naming him as the new president of the College, the informal nomination was confirmed by the Corporation and the Board of Overseers. He served three years.

Everett was succeeded by Sparks, Sparks by Walker, Walker by Felton, and Felton by Hill. Administrations so brief, be their incumbents never so great, cannot represent great worth. Time is necessary for even the forming, and more for the carrying out, of a consistent policy in college affairs. Felton died in office. The others retired by reason of ill health. But the conditions of the office promoted the ill health of the incumbent and rendered the enjoyment of the service impossible. The executive office was congested with petty details, the doing of which by a worthy executive was not a wise assignment of labor, and the neglect of which resulted in disorderliness or disaster. The weekly or daily inspections of lists of absences from college exercises, of monitor's bills, of petitions for excuse of various sorts, of all reports of marks and all delinquencies, represent a necessary and important part of college administration, but they are not works which should be committed to men of the type of Everett, of Sparks, or of Walker. The large and proper relations of the office of president were thus disturbed and its duties painfully done. These conditions Everett keenly realized. Everett once wrote to his successor saying that he was returning a " valuable letter from Fisher Ames declining the offer of the presidency. A wise man was Fisher Ames."[1] President Wayland once said that a college president's time was " nibbled away by ducks."[2] Under such conditions it is not surprising that the administrations which divided the great term of Quincy from the greater one of Eliot were brief and in certain respects inefficient.

Undoubtedly the most valuable of these brief presidencies and the one which was the least brief, continuing seven years, was that of James Walker. The whole official association of James Walker with Harvard College is among the longest of its entire history. With the exception of a period of four years, it continued from 1825 to his death in 1874. As overseer, fellow of the corporation, professor of natural theology, moral philosophy, and civil polity, as well as President, he was efficient. He was peculiarly free from certain intellectual limitations which

[1] Adams' "Life and Writings of Jared Sparks," vol. ii, p. 438, note.
[2] Ibid., p. 472.

characterize the members of his profession of the ministry. To an intellect large and commanding he joined tender sympathies, a cheerful temper, and a happy wit. Prudence, firmness, and a conservatism which was essentially progressive were among the great elements of his great character. Of the worth of the contribution which he made to the higher education one of his successors has said:

"Again James Walker devoted his life to the service of durable and beneficent institutions,—a church and a college. He helped to make them what they are, and in their continued life he still lives and will live. . . . The intelligence and will of the counselor bear fruit in the well-directed activity of the counselled. I speak on this point from personal experience. Dr. Walker first drew me into the service of Harvard University, and thereafter gave me the inestimable benefit of his advice at every difficult step of my way. In the twenty-eight years since I have been able to do many things which he wished to have done, and to promote objects which he had greatly at heart. Beginnings have been made; seed has been sown, and the harvest is not yet; but when God shall give the increase, and the harvest shall be gathered in, it will be partly the fruit of the life of James Walker." [1]

The College was, throughout the two-thirds of a century, a great agent and condition of education. There were great teachers and great men in the office of instruction. Among them were Benjamin Peirce, Henry W. Longfellow, Francis J. Child, George M. Lane, Josiah P. Cooke the chemist, Francis Bowen, Goodwin, and James Russell Lowell; these men occupied chairs in the middle of the century and its later decades. They were preceded by George Ticknor, Henry Ware, Levi Hedge, Edward Tyrrell Channing. Under the instruction and inspiration of such teachers great results in character and scholarship were accomplished.

Witherspoon retired from the presidency of Princeton in the year before Dwight entered upon his presidency at Yale. From Witherspoon's resignation, in 1794, down to the inaugura-

[1] The address of Charles W. Eliot at the service at the dedication of a mural monument to James Walker, D.D., LL.D., in the Harvard Church in Charlestown, in the City of Boston, January 14, 1883.

tion of McCosh, in 1868, Princeton had no president so commanding in character, so efficient in service as either Witherspoon or McCosh. The administrations of Stanhope Smith, Green, Carnahan, and Maclean covered the seventy-four years that intervened. Smith was the first president of Hampden-Sidney, and had served as professor of Moral Philosophy at Princeton. In the Middle and Southern States he was regarded as the most eloquent and learned minister of his time. He was also esteemed as a wise counselor in the affairs of his church. Green, too, was influential in the administrative concerns of his church, as he was also a distinguished member. But the greatest administration of the four men was found in Carnahan. It began in 1823 and closed in 1853. Carnahan's term of office, commencing in a time of great difficulty, was rendered illustrious through his wisdom, courage, prudence, and persistence. His administration, like that of his predecessor, was a time of poverty. After an existence of a hundred and seven years Princeton possessed only fifteen thousand dollars of endowment. The great work which the College did for the nation and for the church was done on an income largely drawn from the fees of students. Up to the beginning of Carnahan's term only fourteen elections to professorships had been made; in his term the number of elections was no less than thirty. In 1830 the trustees appointed six new professors. Among them were Dod to the chair of mathematics, Vethake to the chair of natural philosophy, Torrey to the chair of chemistry and natural history (chiefly known because of his work on the flora of North America), Howell to the chair of physiology, Hargous to the chair of modern languages, and Joseph Addison Alexander to the adjunct professorship of ancient languages and literature. This step, taken in the enlargement of the teaching staff, was one of the boldest ever taken in the history of an American college. Among the other great teachers of the period was Philip Lindsley. Lindsley is to-day chiefly known as having received a larger number of invitations to become the president of a college than any other man. He was Vice-President for some six years and for a brief time acting president He was twice chosen president of Transylvania College, and also once of Transylvania University. He was chosen president of

Princeton in 1823, an offer which he declined, and thrice elected president of Cumberland College before he accepted the invitation. He was also asked, either formally or informally, to become president of Ohio University at Athens, of Washington College at Lexington, Virginia, of Dickinson College, Pennsylvania, of the College of Louisiana at Jackson, and of the South Alabama College at Marion. In 1824 he resigned his professorship to accept the presidency of Cumberland College in Nashville.

The results of the long administration of Carnahan were significant. The average number of graduates of each year rose to fifty-four. Of the total number of sixteen hundred and seventy-seven many became great leaders in the community. No less than seventy-three were chosen presidents or other officers of colleges. Eight became senators of the United States; twenty-six, members of the lower House; and four, members of the Cabinet. The record, too, of those who entered the several professions is impressive. One cannot read the lists of graduates of Princeton during the administration of Carnahan or of his predecessors without the conviction of the greatness of the contribution which Princeton in this period made to the enrichment of American life. To the profession of the ministry and of medicine as well as of teaching, of law and jurisprudence as well as of public service, the college gave its sons in large and impressive numbers. This service touched every part of the country with great power excepting the New England states. The Presbyterian affiliations of the College, its intimate relations with New York and Philadelphia, seemed to close the doors of the Congregational communities to its influence.

In the earlier decades of the nineteenth century Columbia College was beset by many difficulties. Its community was, on the whole, indifferent to its welfare, as urban communities are liable to be to their local academic institutions. Its students were few and their increase slow. In 1821 the number of students was one hundred thirty-five, and thirty-six years after, in 1857, it had increased to only one hundred fifty-four. Its endowment was small, and its enlargement in successive decades slight. Its presidents, the two Moores, Harris, and Duer, were not efficient.

Dr. John M. Mason, the most distinguished minister of his time, served as provost from 1811 to 1816, being prevented from election as president by reason of his not being a communicant of the Protestant Episcopal Church. He served for five years in cooperation with Dr. Harris as president. Under such a double-headed arrangement, antagonisms and inefficiencies were inevitable. The attempts of the trustees to secure aid from the state were only partially successful. The efforts made for the removal of the College to sites farther up town in each instance diverted attention from its scholastic business and proved to be the occasion of divisive judgments. The founding of the University of the City of New York in 1832 was the cause of great anxiety to the governing boards. The endeavors to put the college into closer relations with the community through lessening the fees for tuition proved to be abortive. These fees, in 1821, were eighty dollars, and in 1857 had fallen to fifty. Expenditures were constantly in danger of exceeding the income, and frequently the peril was actually incurred. In the year 1842 the income did slightly exceed the expenditures, but the debt became fifty-eight thousand dollars. In the seventeen years previous to President King's accession, in 1849, the average annual deficit was twenty-two hundred dollars.

But throughout this period the College was seeking its way to higher things and more efficient methods. The correct interpretation of the function of a college as a minister of education and not a means of professional training was maintained, and, at different epochs, strongly emphasized. The Alumni became more and more interested in their college and organized a society in 1825. The endowment was increased, though slowly and by small increments. Great professors were gradually added to the teaching staff. Among them were Charles Anthon, Henry Drisler, and Francis Lieber. It was not until the years following the great war that Columbia, like certain other colleges, was to enter into its great era of enlargement and prosperity.

If the history of most colleges is like the annals of a nation at peace, of leisurely professors, dwelling in quiet happiness and relations of dignified learning and instruction, the record of one of the New England colleges, for the first quarter of the nine-

teenth century, was a story of discord and rebellion. Dartmouth was at this period the scene of strife and controversy, unique bitter, personal, institutional. The quarrel became the most historic ever carried on in an American college. John Wheelock, the second president, was elected by the trustees on the nomination of his great father. The right to name his successor was, by the charter, given to the founder and the first president. Of this right the elder Wheelock did not fully avail himself. In his will Eleazar Wheelock nominated three persons as his possible successor. One of the three was his son. The energy and enterprise of John Wheelock were great, though not so great as were the enterprise and energy of his father. But the self-confidence, egoism, the lack of sane and consistent judgment were greater than were the same qualities as possessed by the elder. The son was not eager for the office; but having once accepted it, he exercised its functions with a large degree of arbitrariness, not, however, untempered by wisdom.

In the midst of the administration of the younger man, in the last years of the eighteenth and the first of the nineteenth century, serious disagreements emerged between the members of the Faculty and the Board of Trustees. The members of the Faculty were men of large knowledge. Adams was an able scholar in mathematics; Smith was a distinguished linguist; Shurtleff was possessed of keen intellect as well as of brightness of wit. The Board of Trustees was also able. The charge was made that John Wheelock desired to perpetuate a family dynasty. The divisions which resulted were largely personal. John Wheelock was not a man either to brook opposition or to disarm criticism. He had served in the Continental Army. His interpretation of the rights and duties of the chief executive was of the military order. The breach between the members of the official bodies widened and deepened. In the year 1814 a motion was passed by the Board of Trustees relieving the president from certain recitations in philosophy of the Senior class. In the following June, Wheelock presented to the Legislature of the state one of the most remarkable petitions ever offered by the president of a college to a law-making body. He, the president of Dartmouth College, requested the Legislature to appoint a

committee to look into the affairs and the management of the institution, internal and external, and if it were judged expedient, to make such improvements and reforms in its system and movements as would guard against disorders. The reasons for such an extraordinary request were found in the alienation by the Board of Trustees of the property of the College from its proper uses, in the religious partisanship of the members of the Board, in the annulling of the rights of the president, and in adopting measures that proved oppressive to the president himself.[1]

The petition of John Wheelock was granted. A committee of investigation was appointed. But no less than two months after he himself was removed from office by a vote of the Trustees. The reason for such a summary procedure lay in his publishing a pamphlet which the Trustees regarded as a libel on the College, and also in such general considerations as his arrogance as an executive, and his seeking by unworthy means to render himself popular with the students.

The official retirement of Wheelock, however, rather promoted than silenced the controversy. The committee of the Legislature reported that there was no ground for the Legislature to interfere in the affairs of the College. But, notwithstanding this conclusion, the Governor, at the opening of the Legislature in June, 1816, asked the special consideration of the body to the condition of the institution. He declared that the College received its charter from the British king; that it embodied principles that were "congenial to monarchy," and that its character as a close corporation was "hostile to the spirit and genius of a free government." As the government had become a democracy, the monarchical principle should be eliminated. The Governor declared that the Trustees should be elected, not by themselves, but by some other body. The facts proved, in the judgment of the Governor, that the Legislature should interfere in the affairs of Dartmouth College. The antagonism and excitement were increased by the political changes occurring in the state. The government had been in the control of the Federalists; and the col-

[1] Smith's "The History of Dartmouth College," p. 91.

lege was supposed to favor this party. The Democrats had now come into power. As a conclusion the Legislature proceeded to create a Board of Overseers to be appointed by the Governor and Council, and it increased the number of Trustees from twelve to twenty. It changed the name of the College to University. The University was organized by the appointment of the Rev. William Allen [1] as president, and of two professors. For three years the university and the college existed side by side. The larger share of the students, of course, remained with the college. The condition was fraught with all manner of personal and institutional difficulties.

Upon the taking of the action by the Legislature, the majority of the old College Board commenced an action to recover certain properties which the University Board had seized. By agreement the case was carried directly to the Superior Court of New Hampshire. Among the lawyers for the college were Jeremiah Mason—whom Webster regarded as the greatest lawyer who ever practiced at the New England bar—Jeremiah Smith, and Daniel Webster. The decision was against the college. The case was carried next to the Supreme Court of the United States by writ of error. The case was heard by the full Court of seven members. Marshall was Chief Justice; the associates were Story, Washington, Johnson, Livingston, Todd, and Duvall. Webster and Hopkinson appeared for the college, and the Attorney-General Wirt and Holmes against it.

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[1] Soon after the termination of his relation to Dartmouth, Allen was chosen president of Bowdoin. In March, 1831, a law was passed in Maine providing that "no person now holding the office of president in any college in this State shall hold said office beyond the day of the next commencement unless he shall be reëlected. No person shall be elected or reëlected to the office of president unless he shall receive in each board two-thirds of all the votes given on the question of his election." The advocates of this law did not conceal their purpose of securing the removal of President Allen from his office. In order to test the legality of the law in the Federal Court, President Allen removed his family out of the State (to Newburyport, Mass.). The case was argued before Judge Story in 1833. The decision restored the president to his office. The decision was based upon the same elements which had caused his removal from the presidency of Dartmouth University.—Little's Bowdoin College, pp. lxix, lxx.

The speech which Daniel Webster made on the tenth of March, 1818, was the first of his great legal arguments. The occasion was pregnant. The case concerned the existence of every college as well as of Dartmouth. Mr. Webster said:

"Nor has Harvard College any surer title than Dartmouth College. It may, to-day, have more friends; but to-morrow it may have more enemies. Its legal rights are the same. So also of Yale College; and indeed of all the others." [1]

Mr. Webster sought to show "that the trustees possessed vested liberties, privileges, and immunities under this charter; and that such liberties, privileges and immunities, being once lawfully obtained and vested, are as inviolable as any vested rights of property whatever." [2] Mr. Webster declared that:

"The property was private property. The trustees were visitors, and their right to hold the charter, administer the funds, and visit and govern the college was a franchise and privilege, solemnly granted to them. The use being public, in no way diminishes their legal estate in the property, or their title to the franchise." [3]

It was further argued by Mr. Webster that the act impaired the obligation of contracts. In this case, Mr. Webster held, lay all the essential parts of a contract, mutual considerations and inducements. In the legal interpretation no difference exists between the grant of corporate franchises and the grant of tangible property. The proposed acts impaired, repealed and abrogated the essential parts of contract.

The decision of the Court, made almost a year after the presentation of the arguments, is known. Daniel Webster refounded Dartmouth College, and helped to confirm the foundation of every college.

It is significant that the greatest case touching academic rights which ever came before the Supreme Court helped to determine principles which have had great value in the development of the industries and corporate concerns of the country.

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[1] "Speeches and Forensic Arguments," by Daniel Webster, Boston, 1830, p. 121.

[2] Ibid., p. 125.

[3] Ibid., p. 131.

Since the decision of the case, a large part of the wealth of the country has come to consist in rights acquired under corporate charters. The Dartmouth College Case proved that such rights are not to be affected by legislation, except as expressed reservations have been made in the act granting charters. Dissatisfaction has, in various ways, been expressed with this conclusion, but the decision made by the Supreme Court has been regarded as a bulwark of the rights of private and of corporate property. The case has been cited in judicial opinions more often than any other case, the number being almost one thousand.

The result thus won was a triumph not only of what has come to be regarded as principle and just law, but it was a great personal triumph of Webster himself. His speech lasted five hours. The clearness of statement, the nobility of the reasoning, were surpassed—if at all surpassed—only by the heat of passion of the orator. It is said that the Chief Justice, Marshall, was moved as he seldom had been moved, and that Story, who had been counted upon as being opposed to the college position, forgot to take notes. The occasion was the first great manifestation of the tremendous power of Webster as a jurist, and also was the birth of a constitutional principle of law and government.

In the four years covering this legal controversy, and in the years immediately following, the presidency of the College was more fortunate in at least two of the three incumbents than the trustees had a right to demand. Francis Brown, who came into office immediately on the removal of Wheelock, was worthy of an administration less stormy. It is to be noted that the two most distinguished graduates of Dartmouth College had relation to it in this period of storm and stress. While Daniel Webster was engaged in refounding the College, Rufus Choate was getting an education within its walls. The four years of Choate's studentship coincided with the period of President Brown's administration. Of him Rufus Choate wrote: "There can be no doubt that he had very eminent intellectual ability, true love of the beautiful in all things, and a taste trained to discover, enjoy, and judge it, and that his acquirements were competent and increasing. It was the 'keenness' of his mind of which Mr. Mason always spoke to me as remarkable in any man of any pro-

fession. He met him only in consultation as a client; but others, students, all nearer his age, and admitted to his fuller intimacy, must have been struck rather with the sobriety and soundness of his thoughts, the solidity and large grasp of his understanding, and the harmonized culture of all its parts.'' [1]

The successor of Dr. Brown was Daniel Dana, of Newburyport. His term was brief. Apparently, simple homesickness, a condition to which college presidents do not frequently succumb, contributed to its brevity. His successor in turn was Bennet Tyler. His administration was also brief. Dr. Tyler came from the pastorate, felt its claims while he was serving as president, and after a term of five years returned to the pastorate. After serving as minister in the historic church of Payson in Portland, he became the head of an '' old-School '' Congregational seminary of theology in Connecticut.

These three brief terms were followed by an administration of thirty-five years. This administration was full of rich advantages to the College, and through the College to the highest interests of the community. In the almost century and a half of Dartmouth College, the greatest administration—and it was essentially great—has been that of Nathan Lord.

If an institution is the lengthened shadow of a man, a man is often the lengthened shadow of an institution; in certain cases the institution is greater, in other cases the man. In a quintette of colleges in the early and middle decades of the nineteenth century appeared as presidents five men who were greater than their colleges. Through these colleges they made rich gifts to humanity. They present the significant union of many similarities in condition and character, and also they offer a multitude of contrasts. Their work is a microcosm of the history of the institutions which they served.

Eliphalet Nott was president of Union for sixty-two years, from 1804 to 1866; Mark Hopkins was president of Williams for thirty-six years, from 1836 to 1872; Francis Wayland was president of Brown for twenty-eight years, from 1827 to 1855; Nathan Lord was president of Dartmouth for thirty-five years,

[1] "The History of Dartmouth College," Smith, p. 125.

from 1828 to 1863; and Leonard Woods was president of Bowdoin for twenty-seven years, from 1839 to 1866. As the history of each of these colleges is embodied in the biography of its president, it is a record of noble sacrifices, of constant labors, of unrelenting faithfulness, of energy, and of faith. These endeavors were, in the case of each, crowned with a triumphant result.

Each of these executives came into his office at a critical time in the history of his college. When Nott entered upon the presidency of Union the number of students was not more than forty. The financial condition was melancholy. In the administrations of the first three presidents, Smith, Edwards, and Maxcy, the increase of funds had been slight. The lack of money to meet even current expenses was urgent. One cause of the retirement of Dr. Smith was the failure of his expectations of endowment. The administration of Dr. Edwards was made short, possibly also his term of life, by reason of pecuniary embarrassment. In the term of Dr. Maxcy the hope for relief from the embarrassment became quite dead. In the year of the accession of Nott, the whole expense of carrying on the college was a little less than four thousand dollars, but the income was even smaller than this small sum. Edward Dorr Griffin became president of Williams in 1821 in the midst of a great crisis. "If this college lives, I live; if it dies, I die," he declared. After a noble administration of fifteen years, there was created a crisis into which came Mark Hopkins. The physical and other weaknesses of Griffin constituted a fear that the good results of his earlier years would, at least in part, be wiped out. This peril was removed by the election of Hopkins immediately upon the formal retirement of Griffin. The period when Wayland came to Brown was yet far more critical. The Faculty was rent by internal dissensions; the number of students had declined. The discipline was loose, the requirements for admission were lax. The reputation of the college in its community was either evil or indifferent. Lord, in turn, came into the presidency of Dartmouth when the dissensions and losses consequent upon the great litigation were still pregnant. The average length of the three preceding presidencies of Brown, of Dana, and of Tyler was less than four years. The condition was critical. If an executive inefficient in service,

weak in character, were to be installed, the peril was dire that the scholastic and personal standards of efficiency set by the three preceding presidents would decline and that a general disintegration would result. At Bowdoin, too, in the year 1837, the condition was similar. The financial panic of the time had seriously affected the college income. The annual deficit was about two thousand dollars. The two boards were not in agreement respecting the first two elections made of a president. The Overseers had vetoed the choice of the Trustees. It was not until the third selection was made that both boards were in agreement.

These five presidents, moreover, were alike in respect to their age. They were all young men. Nott, Woods, and Wayland were thirty-one years of age; Hopkins thirty-four; Lord thirty-six. The advantage of the beginning of a career as college president at an early age is very great, for the later years in such a service are the more valuable. Wise efficiency and general acceptableness should increase as the term of office lengthens.

Further, each of these presidents was a clergyman. If two of the number did not come directly from the pulpit, each had taken the vows of ordination. Nott came from a great pastorate of six years in Albany, and during his presidency he was frequently asked to return to clerical service. Hopkins was a graduate in medicine, and had been licensed to preach. In the year 1844 he was asked to become minister of what afterwards became the most famous church in the United States, Plymouth in Brooklyn. Wayland had filled for a brief period the pastorate of the First Baptist Church in Boston, though he was at the time of his election to the presidency of Brown a professor in Union. Lord had, at the time of his inauguration, filled for twelve years the leading pastorate in the principal town of southern New Hampshire. Woods had not served as a formal minister, but he had been ordained by the presbytery, was the translator and editor of a popular book on theology, and had been a beloved and satisfactory teacher in the theological seminary at Andover, and at Bangor. At the time of his inauguration at Bowdoin, his fame as a preacher was both wide and great.

Each of these presidents offered to his college unique gifts, and each accomplished for his college noble results, and through

the college results yet nobler for humanity. It was an age of plain college studying. The period of athletics had not arrived. The time of the breaking of professional purposes into the college curriculum was remote. The advantages and disadvantages of an elective system were still far in the future. The lack of interest in scholastic concerns, arising from social conditions or from wealth, had not become felt. From homes of competency or of poverty men came to college. They were inspired usually by the simple purpose of getting intellectual discipline and power through learning. At the time of the semicentennial of Dr. Nott's presidency more than two thousand graduates of Union were representing her in almost every part of the world. The College had given more than two thousand members to the legal, six hundred to the clerical, four hundred to the medical, and two hundred to the teacher's profession. The first twenty-three classes which graduated at Williams under Dr. Hopkins averaged thirty-nine in number, and later classes fifty. The number who took their degrees under President Wayland somewhat exceeded eight hundred. Lord taught more than two thousand pupils, and more than nine hundred received their degrees from Woods at Bowdoin. The more than seven thousand men who were taught at these five colleges in these great presidencies represent a most significant contribution to the higher interests of civilization of America and of the world.

In a most comprehensive element, too, these five presidents were alike: they each loved their students. The College of Nott was open to the charge of being an academic Botany Bay by reason of the indulgence which its president was inclined to give to some students. Students whom other colleges would not suffer not infrequently found a welcome at Union. To his own students as well as to those coming from other institutions he was always willing to give the advantage of the doubt. "Give him another chance," was his motto and his practice. "I cannot bear to give up that boy," was an expression frequently upon his lips. Dr. Nott embodied the paternal character of the college president. If his primary purpose in his training of students was to make men of action, his primary method was found in the predominance of love as a motive. A similar affection,

although not so strongly manifest, was felt by President Hopkins. As was said by Bishop Lawrence, of Massachusetts, a member of a family numbered among the constant benefactors of Williams College, Mark Hopkins was " strong, sagacious, sturdy, and yet with a heart so tender that, though strong as an oak, gave inspiration to words and thoughts and emotions as tender as the tenderest oak leaf that shimmers on these mountain sides." [1] If his aim was, in the training of character, to secure breadth and to make the college years, years of rapid and extensive acquisitions,[2] this aim he secured, at least in part, through the method which Cardinal Newman intimates:

> "Love is his bond,
> He knows no other fetter." [3]

Love as an intellectual rather than as an emotional force prevailed in the character and service of President Wayland. In his formal farewell address to the graduates of the college he spoke of the principles which had guided his administration. They were a resolute and honest consecration to the work to be done; a dogged instinct to do his duty; never to act for to-morrow or for next month instead of to-day; adherence to general principles, reliance on the " word of God." " Whatever knowledge," he declares, " I have of men or mind, I have gained from the New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ." [4] A great college president still living, himself educated under Dr. Wayland, has said:

"His greatness and his influence were more conspicuously moral than intellectual. His imperial will, his ardent love of the simple truth, his tender sympathy for the oppressed and the suffering, his generosity to the poor, his unconquerable love of soul liberty, his hatred of spiritual despotisms, his unflinching devotion to duty, his sublime unselfishness, his spirit of unquestioning filial obedience to God, his abiding faith in Jesus Christ and Him crucified, these were the great elements of his character,

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[1] "Williams College Centennial Anniversary, 1793–1893," p. 271.
[2] Hopkins' "Teachings and Counsels," p. 391.
[3] Cardinal Newman, "St. Philip in His School."
[4] "Francis Wayland," by James Murray, p. 112.

the impelling forces of that splendid intellect, and the sources of his mighty power. He believed with all his soul that life is made up of duties, duties to man and to God. This idea he was ever holding up in all possible lights, and impressing on his hearers with all his power. It lent shape and coloring to all his instructions as professor, and to all his acts as president, lifted the college to a lofty plane, and gave earnestness and purpose to the lives of his pupils." [1]

In Lord, of Dartmouth, the intellectual and emotional elements were in a more just balance than was manifest in the character of President Wayland. A graduate of Dartmouth College has written of him:

"He deserved, and commanded, the warm affection and respect of a very great majority of the undergraduates, as well as of the Alumni of the College. While in a large measure he dwelt apart, he had a warm, magnanimous and forgiving heart, and abounded in sympathy for the discouraged and heroic few." [2]

Also:

"I think his most striking characteristic was his sublime faith in Jesus Christ as the Saviour of men. He was in constant communion with the God of his fathers; and his public prayers lifted all the worshipers out of the sordid atmosphere of materialistic surroundings into the bright shining light of the eternal verities." [3]

Dr. Lord's conception of the function of the college, as well as intimations of his personal character, is conveyed in a significant and moving passage of the address given at his inauguration:

"The relations also of the whole body of students to their country and the world demand, and the admonition is sounded out from every corner of our land, from the city, and the field, and even from the desert, that there should be laid the foundation of those virtuous habits, of that reverence for God, and practical regard for His ordinances, without which the influence of our educated men will gradually undermine the fair fabric of our national freedom and the ruins of our country will be heaped

[1] "Francis Wayland," by James Murray, p. 191.
[2] Private letter of Edwin R. Perkins, of Cleveland.
[3] Ibid.

up for an everlasting memorial, that neither liberty, nor learning, nor wealth, nor arts, nor arms, can stay the decline of that people among whom the redeeming spirit of Christianity has no permanent abode." [1]

In the early years of his administration President Woods was distinguished as a friend of the student. The courtesies he showed them were most gracious. The talks which he had with them in his study, the walks which he took with them among the pines of the sandy plains of Brunswick, were occasions of inspiration. To him, as to Nott, the ordinary methods of college discipline were of slight value. The appeal to honor and to love embodied the highest motive and the wisest method for the transformation, elevation, or enrichment of character.

In the midst of these great and comprehensive similarities of method and purpose, these presidents also manifested unlike characteristics. Nott was distinguished by a certain executive greatness. In him was a unique masterful force. He both governed and ruled. Hopkins left a larger impress upon his students and the college by means of his services as a teacher than as an administrator. He was a Socrates in the classroom. For more than a third of a century he helped to train the graduates of Williams College to become thinkers, and he so impressed himself and his methods upon them that there was during his administration a greater resemblance among the graduates of Williams College than obtained among the graduates of any other institution. Wayland was an educator, theoretical as well as practical. He did a great work in the anticipation of the more modern systems and content of education. Lord impressed his students as the greatest of all men. As a graduate of the College has said:

"He was certainly a very great man, the greatest I had ever known, I thought as I left the sphere of his immediate influence nearly half a century ago. After so long a period of time I find myself unable to modify very materially that early formed opinion. Dr. Lord was a model executive officer, as superior in character as in rank to the other members of a quite distinguished faculty." [2]

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[1] "Dartmouth College," Smith, p. 155.

[2] Private letter of Edwin R. Perkins, of Cleveland.

Woods, in turn, was a man of culture, of elegant scholarship, of a keen appreciation of the beautiful, and of unique power in conversation.

Each of these men, also, was subjected to criticism, one or two of them to criticism of a most vexatious sort. From such a trial Hopkins was more free than any other. Nott was subjected to long and vexatious lawsuits arising from the charge of the perversion of funds. The charge arose from his use of funds derived from lotteries authorized by the State for the advantage of the College. But from the charges he was, about the time of the semicentennial of his administration, absolutely acquitted. Wayland was obliged to face a decline in the numbers of the students at a time when the numbers should have been, by reason of his worth and fame as an educator, greatly increasing. A decline of the number of students attending a college, whatever may be the cause, is in peril of becoming a ground for criticism, either worthy or unworthy, of an administration. Lord resigned his office in the midst of the Civil War on the ground that his views touching slavery and the War " were not such as the Board of Trustees or the constituency of the College approved."[1]

In several years of his career President Woods was almost as

[1] "'In making this communication to the Hon. and Rev. Board of Trustees I take the liberty respectfully to protest against their right to impose any religious, ethical, or political test upon any member of their own body or any member of the College Faculty, beyond what is recognized by the charter of the institution, or express statutes or stipulations confirmed to that instrument, however urged or suggested, directly or indirectly, by individuals or public bodies assuming to be as visitors of the college, or advisers of the Trustees.

"'The action of the Trustees, on certain resolutions of the Merrimack County Conference of Churches, virtually imposes such a test, inasmuch as it implicitly represents and censures me as having become injurious to the college, not on account of any official malfeasance or delinquency, for, on the contrary, its commendations of my personal and official character and conduct during my long term of service far exceed my merits; but, for my opinions and publications on questions of Biblical ethics and interpretations, which are supposed by the Trustees to bear unfavorably upon one branch of the policy pursued by the present administration of the government of the country.'"—"Dartmouth College," Smith, pp. 174, 175.

completely out of sympathy with the alumni and constituency of Bowdoin College as was President Lord with the men of Dartmouth. The ground of the alienation was the same—reputed lack of sympathy with the North in the great contest. It was also intimated that he was too much of a recluse. In fact, certain elements in the character and career of President Woods have long proved enigmatical to many. It is certainly true that the close of the career did not bear out the promise of its beginning.

The five colleges of Union, Williams, Brown, Dartmouth, and Bowdoin, as well as their presidents, throughout the early and middle decades of the last century, held before themselves as their chief end the upbuilding of character in the student. They sought to train men of large scholarship, and not specialists. Their purpose was to make men of intellect, able to think strongly, comprehensively, clearly, adequately; to make men of a large and pure moral nature, out of whose hearts should come the issues of life; to make men of vigorous wills, able to decide in accordance with sound judgment. Their purpose was to create and to nourish personalities who, after proper professional training, should prove to be worthy agents, through their liberal education, for serving the people. The income of these colleges, like their endowment, in this period was small; their equipment was slight; their libraries contained few books, and these few not of great value; their laboratories either did not exist at all, or, if existing, were lacking in most elements of a proper furnishing. These presidents themselves, and many of their associates, were not scholars. But through the force and worth of personal character, through their love for and interest in the students, great results were accomplished in the realm of mind, of heart, and of personal manhood. The interest of the teacher was centered more in the student and was not placed upon truth.

In the first thirty years of the nineteenth century four colleges were established in New England: Bowdoin, Waterville (Colby), Amherst, and Washington (Trinity). In the following years, down to the close of the Civil War, five more were founded: Wesleyan, established in 1831; Holy Cross in 1843; Tufts in 1852, and Bates and Boston in 1862. The number of

such colleges, nine, is the number which had been founded previous to the war of the Revolution in the whole country.

Each of these colleges owed its origin to either religious zeal or denominational propagandism.

For almost a decade before collegiate instruction was offered in the District of Maine, several Associations of the Baptist Church had been urging the establishment of a college. In 1815 a petition for aid from the Commonwealth in the laying of the foundation was presented to the Massachusetts Legislature. The request is one of the most unique ever offered by a college for a grant from public funds. The denominational basis of the request is expressed with the utmost frankness. "The undersigned members of the institution consider it their duty to state that this institution was established at the request and in compliance with a petition from those persons denominated Baptists within this Commonwealth; and their object was, and now is, to have an institution at which their children may be educated, over which they may have some influence and control. At the present time we believe it may be truly asserted that not a single individual denominated a Baptist is now a member of the corporation of either of the colleges within the Commonwealth, and from that within this district they have been very pointedly excluded. As the people denominated Baptists may be considered as comprising nearly one-third of the population of the State, they will not, we conclude, be considered as asking too much when they request from the legislature about the same aid that has been afforded to Williamstown and Bowdoin colleges as relates to grants of land."[1] The request thus made was partially successful. The aid granted allowed the incorporators, all of whom were members of the Baptist churches of Maine, to offer instruction; and the collegiate beginning was made in the year 1818. In Waterville College, as in many colleges, were at first united two courses, a literary and a theological. In the first colleges of America, the literary course was generally theological, directly fitting graduates to enter the ministry. Later, differentiation occurred, and two courses, though more or less parallel

[1] "History of Higher Education in Maine," by Edward C. Hall, p. 100.

and distinct, were established. Yet later still, a further division was made: the theological course became a professional course succeeding the literary or undergraduate.

Waterville College thus had its origin in denominational zeal. Such zeal was for decades its chief endowment. It was not until the period of the civil war that the institution began to attain a place in the affections of its church or in the regard of the people, worthy of either its immediate or larger constituency.

Near the beginning of the century the settlers in central Massachusetts felt a strong desire for securing more accessible facilities of the higher education. One hundred miles divided the people living on the banks of the Connecticut from the Atlantic coast. The Rhode Island college and Yale were quite as hard to reach as was the college in Cambridge. Williams was in the extreme northwest corner of the State; it served the people of New York and of Vermont quite as well as those of Massachusetts. Central Massachusetts early attracted, and held, a body of devout, intelligent, and intellectual people. In Northampton and Stockbridge lived and wrought Jonathan Edwards; in Amherst, Noah Webster labored on his great work for ten years. In the year 1815 Congregational ministers of one county frankly expressed their judgment that a literary institution of a high order should be established in the neighboring County of Hampshire. In the previous year an academy had been founded in Amherst; the academy was prosperous. Its very prosperity proved its insufficiency to meet the growing needs of the community. The trustees believed that one chief lack of the community was a school for the training of ministers. They therefore determined to secure a fund to aid in the education of those entering this profession. Fifty thousand dollars were secured. This fund proved to be, in certain respects, the foundation of Amherst College. In the lean and hard years following the foundation this fund was a resource which saved the college from bankruptcy and probable extinction.

Prolonged, serious, and diverse were the difficulties which beset the laying of the formal foundation of Amherst. In the plans for the higher education were included the purpose of the removal of Williams College to a more central location. The

legislature of the state decided that the college could not be removed. The endeavor to secure a charter with the right to confer degrees was opposed by influences territorial, political, and educational. The friends of Williams maintained that that college was able to fill the educational needs of the field to which Amherst sought to minister. The friends of Brown University were also antagonistic because of the fear that its interests would suffer. Many sons of Massachusetts were students at the Rhode Island college. The friends of Harvard were opposed to the granting of the charter, not only because of the new college withdrawing students, but also because of its orthodox character. In the third decade of the last century the Unitarian controversy was at its height. The Unitarian was the principal church of Boston and its neighborhood; its members represented the intellectual force of the Massachusetts and New England metropolis. Their influence with the legislature, for a time, succeeded in preventing the granting of a charter. It was not until the second month of the year 1825 that a legislature was secured which was inclined to confer upon the college the right to grant degrees. It is seldom that opposition so prolonged, so pugnacious, so persistent, and urged on grounds so diverse, has been offered to the giving of a charter to a college.

Although Williams College, as an institution, was not incorporated with the new college at Amherst, yet as a personality it was, in no small degree, made a part of it. The president of Williams was elected the first president of Amherst, and several students followed their president in the migration. The foundation represented the method of Henry VI. in establishing Eton: he copied the statutes of Winchester and transported half the college, including the head-master, to his new school at Windsor.

The year 1818 marks the annulling of the colonial charter of Connecticut. This action disestablished the Congregational Church in that Commonwealth. The freedom thus given to the Protestant Episcopal Church quickened its members for the founding of a college. The petition presented to the legislature in 1823, for the incorporation of the proposed institution, was not set aside by the vote of the Yale Corporation repealing the old law requiring assent of all instructors to the Saybrook plat-

form. But opposition on the part of the Congregationalists was not confined to the members of the Yale Corporation. It was declared, in an anonymous pamphlet, that the proposed Washington College was an "instrument of sectarian aggrandizement," a "scheme fraught with the seed of discord"; and a fear was expressed that it would "entail on distant generations a source of implacable feuds and jealousies." It was affirmed that a second college was unnecessary, and furthermore that it would be injurious to the first; it could rise into distinction and usefulness only by depressing Yale to the same extent.[1] But the college not only received its charter, but, under the name of Washington, began its career. The name of Washington was chosen, not only because of its general significance, but also possibly, in part, by reason of the desire to dissipate the impression that the college was distinctively an institution of the Protestant Episcopal Church. About one-third of the first trustees were not members of that body. In 1845, by the desire of the Corporation, the name was changed from Washington to Trinity. There were at least three colleges bearing the name of Washington, and confusion resulted. The new name was chosen for both dogmatic and academic reasons. In the middle of the century, as at the present time, Trinity College, Cambridge, was among the most influential of the colleges of either of the English universities. The establishment of a college by and for the Protestant Episcopal church of Connecticut, one may well think, gave peculiar satisfaction to the spirits of Rector Cutler and of President Samuel Johnson.

A longer period of time divides the coming to America of Francis Asbury, in 1771, and the foundation of the first permanent college of the Methodist Church, than separates the founding of Harvard from the founding of William and Mary. The discontinuance of Cokesbury College, of Maryland (named after the two bishops, Coke and Asbury), as a result, in part, of the burning of its buildings, and the decline of Asbury College, founded at Baltimore in 1816, are indicative of the lack of in-

[1] "History of Education in Connecticut," by Bernard C. Steiner, pp. 242, 243.

terest on the part of the early Methodists in the higher education. The members of this church were, in the last decades of the eighteenth and the first of the nineteenth century, more concerned with the presentation of the pressing motives to immediate conversion and sanctification than to the fostering of those forces which make for the symmetrical development of character. A prejudice, too, prevailed against the colleges as being seed-plots of infidelity and vice. In his inaugural address as principal of Wesleyan Academy at Wilbraham, Wilbur Fisk voiced this common opinion in saying:

"There the student meets the filthy conversation of the wicked, and learns to blaspheme. He meets the debauchee, and learns incontinency; he meets the jovial companion, and indulges the social glass; he meets with the caviling infidel, and learns to sneer at religion. In short, he leaves the university more learned, but frequently more corrupted, if not wholly ruined." [1]

But, as was also said by Wilbur Fisk in the report made on education to the General Conference of the Methodist Church in 1828, a cultivated church will have a cultivated ministry. The Methodist Church, in the first third of the century, was coming, with each passing year, to deserve the epithet. The demand for a ministry, also cultivated, was becoming more urgent. Out of such growing conditions was born what is known as Wesleyan University. Its name was significant as a prophecy as well as a memorial. It was the first of at least ten institutions bearing, in some part of their corporate title, the name Wesleyan. This name shares with the first name of Trinity College, Washington, the honor of having been adopted by more colleges than any other. The location of Wesleyan, the beautiful terrace on the western bank of the Connecticut, at Middletown, was charming; and the date of its charter was the first year of that fourth decade of the century so great in the annals of education. Its first president, and one who deserves to be called founder more than many other first presidents, was Wilbur Fisk.

Fisk should in many respects be placed with the great presi-

[1] "Wilbur Fisk," by George Prentice, pp. 78, 79.

dents of the New England colleges of the middle decades of the century. Though his term of office was brief, of only eight years, it was pregnant with great results and permanent tendencies. He gave to the Methodist Church a noble example of the dignity of learning and of the worth of the slow, growing processes of intellectual discipline. He established high standards of scholarship and of instruction. He gathered an able faculty. He united opposing and most precious qualities of character and elements of administration. Strength and sweetness, energy and sympathy, comprehensiveness of plan and patience of detail, were in him joined together. A theologian, he yet gave a large place to modern languages and to modern sciences. His last words were an epitome of his struggle for his beloved institution:

"I give it as my dying request that they nurse the Wesleyan University, that they must exert themselves to sustain and carry it forward." [1]

Whether Wilbur Fisk would have felt greater antagonism to a college founded by the Roman Catholic church or one founded by the Universalists, it is impossible to say. But in each of the three decades following the foundation of Wesleyan, a college of either the Roman Catholic or Universalist church was founded in New England. In 1843 Holy Cross College in Worcester, and twenty years after the college bearing the name of Boston, in that city, were founded. In 1852 a Universalist college was established in Medford by and, in a sense, for, the Universalist church. Fisk would have been obliged to acknowledge that the origin of the Universalist college was quite as ecclesiastical as the origin of Wesleyan. In the year 1847 Hosea Ballou, 2d, preaching a sermon before the General Convention of Universalists in New York, urged the importance of the denomination having at least one college. So persuasive was his utterance that at once a movement began which resulted in the founding of a college by this church. A hundred thousand dollars were raised in the next four years as endowment. Massachusetts was selected as the most favorable Commonwealth. A charter was

[1] "History of Education in Connecticut," by Bernard C. Steiner, p. 261.

granted in 1852. In 1853 the corner stone of the college hall was laid upon a commanding hill in Somerville and Medford.

In the eight colleges, therefore, established in New England between 1818 and 1863, seven different faiths were represented: the Roman Catholic in two, the Baptist in Waterville, the Free-will Baptist in Bates, the Congregational in Amherst, the Methodist in Wesleyan, the Protestant Episcopal in Washington, or Trinity, and the Universalist in Tufts. Beginning in a denominational loyalty, each of these, in its service for humanity, broadened its conception of academic training. If usually the endowment has been derived from denominational sources, the service has not been limited to denominational circles. In the choice, too, of teachers the denominational element has exercised slight influence. Each of these colleges has, with passing decades, come to represent an offering which the church that founded the college desires to make to humanity.

In the sixth decade of the century was founded, outside of New England, a New England college. In the year 1854 Theodore Parker wrote from Boston to Horace Mann, at Yellow Springs, Ohio, saying: "I think New England had no seed in her granary which the West needed so much as yourself. Now God has sown you in Ohio, I look for a great harvest which mankind shall one day reap therefrom."[1] Horace Mann was emphatically a product of New England. But his last work was done in founding and nurturing a college in the oldest of the western states.

In the year 1850 that denomination called Christians took steps for the establishment of a college. It was later decided to establish the college in Ohio, and yet later in Yellow Springs of that state. The choice of this place was largely due to the gift of twenty acres of land and of thirty thousand dollars in money. Horace Mann was made its first president. His great work of twelve years in the reforming of the schools of Massachusetts had been completed four years before. He had served two complete terms and a partial term in Congress, having been first chosen to fill the vacancy caused by the death of John Quincy

[1] "Life of Horace Mann," pp. 458, 459.

Adams. He had been defeated in his candidacy for governor of Massachusetts. He accepted, with very incomplete knowledge of the conditions, the election to the presidency of Antioch. The conditions which to the ordinary mind would constitute reasons against his acceptance were to his own, undoubtedly, reasons for acceptance. If the Christians were lacking in the facilities of the higher education, there was the greater urgency for his seeking to provide facilities. If Ohio and the West were new, uncivilized, prosperous, there was the greater demand for cultivation. As he said in his inaugural address:

"This youthful Western world is a gigantic youth, and therefore its education must be such as befits a giant. It is born to such powers as no heir to an earthly throne ever inherited, and it must be trained to make that power a blessing and not a curse to mankind. With its mighty frame stretching from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains, and with great rivers for arteries to circulate its blood, it must have a sensorium in which all the mighty interests of mankind can be mapped out; and, in its colossal and Briarean form, there must be a heart large enough for worlds to swim in. Wherever the capital of the United States may be, this valley will be its seat of empire. No other valley,—the Danube, the Ganges, the Nile, or the Amazon,—is ever to exert so formative an influence as this, upon the destinies of men; and therefore, in civil polity, in ethics, in studying and obeying the laws of God, it must ascend to the contemplation of a future and enduring reign of beneficence and peace.[1] . . . Here, then, is a place to sow something better than dragons' teeth, and to reap something better than armed men; a place to cultivate the arts of peace; to establish a polity that shall protect civil and religious liberty, until the necessity for such protection shall dwindle to a tradition; a place where man shall be trained upon God's plan of development and growth, until to say that he is created in the image of his Maker shall no longer seem, as it now does, like a ridiculous and scoffing falsehood."

These hopes, so eloquently expressed, were doomed to disappointment, grave and, in no small sense, bitter. A thorough, unprejudiced examination of the facts in the very beginning would have proved that the college was at its foundation essentially bankrupt. It was founded upon an endowment of scholarships, so called. By this method a person paying one hundred

[1] "Life and Works of Horace Mann," vol. v, pp. 315, 316.

dollars to the college had the right forever to nominate one as a student without payment of further fees. Such a low rate for instruction was a simple tempting of fate. The principles which Mann himself held dear, and to promote which he was willing to become president, were, in part at least, of temporary and of limited application. In November, 1852, he wrote of a meeting of the Faculty held at his house in which he refers to a "remarkable" incident:

"... a most remarkable coincidence of opinion and sentiment among the persons present, not only as to theory, but in practical matters. ... We were all teetotalers; all anti-tobacco men; all antislavery men; a majority of us believers in phrenology; all anti-emulation men,—that is, all against any system of rewards and prizes designed to withdraw the mind from a comparison of itself with a standard of excellence, and to substitute a rival for the standard." [1]

It would now be confessed that phrenology, anti-emulation and the disuse of tobacco, not to speak of other things, are not the soundest and the most fundamental elements on which to found and to foster an institution of learning. Horace Mann came to Ohio hoping to find associates and coadjutors burning with his own enthusiasm; he encountered jealousies and personal hostilities. He came hoping to find honesty, courtesy, graciousness, coöperation; he met dishonesty, trickery, unreasoning obstinacy, and narrow selfishness. The conditions, personal, scholastic, denominational, pecuniary, contributed to failure and collapse.

Yet to this presidency, the last office which Horace Mann held, he brought great elements of character and of efficiency. He embodied the highest type of moral enthusiasm. His loyalty to truth and to duty was more intense than his conception of truth was profound. In the diploma which was given to the graduates of the college he caused a passage to be inserted to the effect that the character of the recipient was reputable, and that the life he had lived in the college was exemplary.[2] The

[1] "Life and Works of Horace Mann," vol. i, p. 386.
[2] Ibid., vol. v, p. 499.

diploma also expressed the hope that "you so comport yourselves on the great mission of life on which you are now about to enter, that you may be ornaments to your country, blessings to mankind, and faithful servants of Almighty God."[1] Horace Mann also brought rare ability as a fine and inspiring executive. The history of his twelve years of service as secretary of the newly created Board of Education of Massachusetts is evidence of this unique power. Furthermore, Horace Mann was a speaker of great force and effectiveness. His addresses were the exponent of a heart great in its love for humanity and warm with a desire to promote humanity's welfare. He was moreover, as a college president, a lover of the individual student. In his personal relation with the faithless ones he was often in his earnestness moved to tears. On his deathbed he called the students to him and gave to individuals, as well as to the body, religious and ethical counsel.

But, despite these great qualities, which under ordinary conditions would have insured success, failure was inevitable. For there were serious deficiencies in his intellectual character. He was not a philosopher in education, and he was not a scholar. He was a man of action. Beyond the practical value of the different studies he had little appreciation of their worth. The type of his mind was discursive, not critical. His inaugural address comprised more than twenty thousand words, and his first baccalaureate more than twelve thousand. His heart constantly overflowed into the intellect, and at times seemed to congest it. In his tremendous earnestness was found little or no place for humor.

In the six years in which he served as president he frequently, in his letters to Theodore Parker, to Thomas Star King, and to other friends, refers to his work as the planting of a seed. In 1853 he writes:

"I am well aware that the seed which I hope to sow will hardly come up in my day."[2]

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[1] "Life and Works of Horace Mann," vol. v, p. 499.

[2] Ibid., vol. i, p. 446.

In 1856 he wrote to Charles Sumner:

"Principles are the seeds to be sown in this field of time. The order of Nature, which is God's providence, will mature the fruit." [1]

His phrases remind one of the speech of Sir Walter Mildmay made to Queen Elizabeth about the foundation of Emmanuel.

Almost fifty years have passed since Horace Mann finished his work at Antioch College. Was he a true prophet in interpreting his work as the sowing of seed? As one thinks of the great purposes one is obliged to come to the conclusion that the interpretation was not so true as he believed. He had, indeed, uttered a protest against sectarianism, although it was sectarianism that, in no small share, caused the collapse of the College. He also, and with the utmost emphasis, made a declaration in favor of coeducation. The declaration was not needless, although Oberlin was embodying this method of training. The spirit of the times has, on the whole, aided in the recognition of this method as one of the primary methods of the higher education. The principle of antislavery, which was dear to his heart, and which as a Congressman he had done much to promote, was to be fought out on the fields of blood, and not to be decided in lecture rooms. Phrenology, to which he clung to the last, has been proved to be largely irrational. The principle of anti-emulation has also been proved to have a far narrower application than he believed. The war against tobacco was not, as has been intimated, important enough to represent and to command his great ability. The principle, moreover, of teetotalism was and is, like the principle of antislavery, one belonging rather to practical ethics than to the discussions of the college.

The work in and for the institution which he did has largely vanished. But the work which he did for the students of his brief administration lasts as long as character endures.

In the address introducing Horace Mann at the time of his inauguration it was said by the presiding officer:

"Under your administration, may this Institution flourish and grow as the cedars of Lebanon, and as the clouds send forth rain to fertilize the

[1] "Life and Works of Horace Mann," vol. i, p. 496.

earth, may the streams of knowledge which go forth from this fountain, enrich the minds of rising generations for ages to come." [1]

As one to-day visits Antioch College at Yellow Springs, and as one thinks of the collapse of the College soon following his own death, the conclusion is inevitable that the prayer uttered at the inauguration has been answered only in part.

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[1] "Life and Works of Horace Mann," vol. v, p. 312.

CHAPTER XIII

THE COURSE OF STUDY

For almost two hundred years after the foundation of Harvard College its course of study remained, in essential elements, unchanged. The great-great-grandchildren of Saltonstall, Wilson and Hubbard, of its first Class of 1642, were pursuing the same studies which their elders had pursued. But beginning with the first decades of the nineteenth century the course received significant enlargement. From that time to the present the development has been constant. The law of the growth of the course of study is the law of adaptation to environment. It is the law that as knowledge has grown the course itself has grown. Every enlargement of the domain of knowledge has ultimately resulted in the enlargement of the academic field. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the growth of knowledge was slow and slight; the change in the academic course was also slow and slight. In the nineteenth century the growth of knowledge has been rapid and great and the enlargement of the academic course has been consequently great and rapid.

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century all students of all the colleges were pursuing practically the same course. The common branches were Latin, Greek and Mathematics, including, in some colleges, on the one side arithmetic, and in some, on the other side, Calculus.[1] Of the classical authors a larger part was read than is now usually read except by those who specialize in this department. The two chief ancient languages and mathematics represented the leading pursuits of the first three years. In the Senior year philosophy became dominant. Butler's "Analogy," Paley's "Evidences," Stewart's or Brown's

[1] In 1816 at Harvard College arithmetic became a requirement for admission.

"Philosophy," and Locke's "Essay on Human Understanding" were the more common books read. In most institutions natural philosophy was required in at least a single year. Logic still held a place, but the place was not so large as in the former time. In a few colleges Hebrew was yet retained, although in most colleges it had been dropped. French, Spanish, Political Economy, Chemistry, Geology and Botany had begun to appear.

The most conspicuous and impressive addition made to the course of study in the first decades of the last century we find in the field of science. Chemistry was the first to secure a more worthy place. The vast discoveries made in chemistry in the last decades of the eighteenth and the first decades of the nineteenth century were presently incorporated into the course of academic instruction. Priestley's electro-chemical experiments upon ammonia gas made in 1775, Lavoisier's contributions to the logic of the science, the investigations of Nicholson and Carlisle made in 1800 upon the decomposition of water, represent significant methods and results. Sir Humphry Davy, Berzelius, and others in the first years of the first decade were making investigations which led, either immediately or remotely, to the vast increase of knowledge of the constitution of matter.

The first teaching of chemistry in American institutions was professional: it formed a part of the instruction in Materia Medica in medical schools. The Medical School of the University of Pennsylvania, in 1768, the Medical School of Harvard and the Medical School of Dartmouth College, in 1783 and 1798 respectively, introduced the subject. At William and Mary there was a professor of chemistry and natural philosophy as early as 1774, and Princeton, in 1795, appointed a professor of the subject. Within the first years of the new century at least five colleges introduced instruction: Columbia in 1802, Yale in 1803, Bowdoin in 1805, South Carolina, and Dickinson College in 1811. The struggle which the science had to secure an adequate place for itself is illustrated in the endeavors of the first Professor Silliman of Yale and of Professor Cooke at Harvard. The laboratory which was built for Silliman was, if not the first, among the first specially constructed in an American college. It was some fifteen or sixteen feet below the surface of the

ground. The descent was made by a ladder. Be it said that such a construction was not the result of Professor Silliman's wisdom. The architect, who was not without reputation in his profession, apparently had some vague impression that chemistry was a branch of alchemy, and that its black arts and explosions deserved a subterranean room. The place was damp and dark. After changes were made, Professor Silliman declares that his head was still six feet below the surface. For fifteen years, from the age of twenty-five to forty, Professor Silliman here worked.

At Harvard, a generation later, Josiah P. Cooke, enthusiastic, laborious, having some knowledge of Liebig's methods and meeting the cost of his apparatus from his own purse, taught the subject for seven years before his laboratory course was formally admitted to the regular curriculum. College Faculties were, and rightly, conservative. They knew there was a vast difference between a subject as a subject of knowledge and the same subject as one for teaching. From 1800 to 1845 chemical studies grew slowly, but firmly. The best scholars were making researches. Robert Hare, Page, as well as Silliman, Jackson in Boston, and Booth in Philadelphia, in their private laboratories, were extending the field of knowledge and were also training chemists.

The enlargement of the place which chemistry came to occupy in the curriculum of the undergraduate college was promoted through the establishment of technical schools. Although the first technical school, the Rensselaer Polytechnic, was founded in 1824, it was not until the middle of the century that these schools were able to secure an important place. Special scientific instruction was offered in New Haven, and the Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard was opened in the year of 1846–47. In the middle of the century the Smithsonian Institution began its great work of research, and there was organized at the same time the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Instruction passed over from that offered by the text-book to that of the laboratory in which the professor himself performed experiments in the presence of the students; and from such professorial experimentation advance was made to the experimenting of the student himself at his own place in the laboratory. The

enlargement of the field and the improvement of the method of instruction in chemistry form an illustration of the principle of the growth of the course of study as being the transplanting to the academic field of truths which had been previously discovered in the more general domain.

The chemical laboratory represented the origin of the scientific departments of the college. In this laboratory physics had its place. Physics was in many senses regarded as a part of chemistry. In the older text-books heat and electricity were considered as agents of chemical change. At the time that Liebig was drawing his great career as a chemist to a close, Friedrich Kohlrausch, son and brother of physicists, was beginning his equally great career in physics. His books rather than his laboratory facilities influenced American scholarship. The first laboratory in physics of the United States was built at the Institute of Technology in Boston, through the suggestion of Prof. W. B. Rogers. Slowly the subject found its way into the colleges. Its worth as an applied science was first recognized. Its value as a liberal study soon became appreciated.

The enlargement of the course of instruction in mathematics has likewise been progressive. The improvements in text-books and in methods of instruction have in this period been largely due to French influences. The place which English mathematics held from the foundation of the first college down to the beginning of the last century was complete. Upon general grounds the superiority of French to English mathematics came to be recognized near the beginning of the nineteenth century. English authors gave way to French in many of the best colleges. The translation of Laplace by Bowditch, begun in 1829, quickened the study of French mathematics in America. This publication was the morning star of a new day in the history of American science. Important translations preceded as well as followed the great work of Bowditch. In 1820 Farrar published translations of LaCroie's Trigonometry; in 1832 Benjamin Peirce became Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Harvard College. Professor Peirce has been called by Sir William Thomson the founder of higher mathematics in America. He was both an algebraist and an astronomer. Professor

Peirce represented one type of the American professor of mathematics—the great scholar. He was not, for ordinary students, a great teacher. He was, in fact, a very poor teacher by reason of his being so great a scholar. As Dr. Peabody said of him: "His intuition of the whole ground was so keen and comprehensive, that he could not take cognizance of the slow and tentative processes of mind by which an ordinary learner was compelled to make his step-by-step progress."[1] The head of the mathematical department of Yale College, for many years while Professor Peirce was at Harvard, was Loomis. Loomis was as superior to Peirce as a teacher of the ordinary student as he was inferior to him as a scholar. Yet his work as a meteorologist was of much significance. His text books were clear and simple, well adapted to use in the classroom. In both Peirce and Loomis one finds an illustration of the great advance in importance which mathematics has come to occupy in the curriculum of the college. Research has enlarged its field and magnified its importance. Its relations to other departments have been increased and quickened.

The teaching of history from the beginning formed at least a small part of the course of study. But down to the close of the first third of the nineteenth century this teaching was usually an adjunct of either the classical or the theological chair. The amount of history that was thus afforded was slight. There were instances of teaching which were founded quite on the classical tradition. General history, both ancient and modern, in the first decades found a small place for itself. From the classical and ecclesiastical tradition history came to occupy a place in the department of philosophy. In this same time also history came to be associated with the department of political science. In South Carolina College, under Francis Lieber, and later in Columbia, in Yale in the middle of the century under Woolsey, history was interpreted both as politics and as philosophy. In the year 1822 at William and Mary was established the first chair of history. In the year 1839 at Harvard was established the second chair of history, and Jared Sparks was

[1] A. P. Peabody's "Harvard Reminiscences," p. 183.

made its first incumbent. Sparks was an American and was undoubtedly the most conspicuous scholar in the field of American history. His appointment seemed to make distinct the impression, not only of the value of history itself as a subject in the course of study, but also of the value of American history. In 1865 a professorship of history was established at Yale. The simple fact seems to be that the teaching of history remained dormant in American colleges until America itself was engaged in making history. The history of people in general, as well as in America, was quickened by the civil war. That political event was followed by consequences far other than political. It touched the life of the university as well as the life of the state. It quickened our sense of humanity as well as our national conscience.

The origin and progress of the subject of economics, political science and government also illustrate the general law of the growth of a course of study. It was not until the American people were obliged to consider their economic condition with largeness and detail did the subject obtain recognition. At an early date certain colleges introduced the subject for at least a small amount of instruction.[1]

As early as 1779 a chair of municipal law was established at William and Mary; and among the students of its incumbent, Wythe, were John Marshall and William C. Rives. Six years earlier at King's College was founded a professorship of natural law, but it became extinct at the disruption of the college in 1776.

In the year 1825 McVicar, of Columbia, published his "Outlines of Political Economy." This book was followed by many other writings in the general field. He taught the subject for more than half a century. In the development of the subject in the American college economics has frequently been taught by itself; it has not infrequently been taught in association with political science and also with government. It has furthermore been yoked with history, where, in case it is not to stand upon its own feet, it properly belongs.

As early as 1820 economics was taught at Harvard; in 1824 it was introduced at Yale; in 1827 at Columbia; the next year

[1] *Nation*, vol. lxiii, p. 494.

at Dartmouth; in 1830 at Princeton; and in Williams in 1835. The almost simultaneous introduction of the subject at these colleges again illustrates the law of the enlargement of the course of study. The industrial revolution caused by Arkwright, Hargreaves, and Fulton represents the primary reason. America, too, at this time was, through the expansion of commerce and the growth of population, awakening to a new life. It is also to be said that in the year 1821 appeared an American edition of Say's "Political Economy," which was the usual text-book of these colleges.[1]

The third decade of the century seems to have been a most prolific period in the introduction of instruction in the Romance Languages. The most significant action taken regarding it was that taken at Bowdoin in September, 1825, establishing a professorship in the modern languages of Europe, particularly in French and Spanish. It was soon arranged that Henry W. Longfellow, after three or four years of study abroad, should fill the Chair. In his inaugural address, delivered in 1830, Mr. Longfellow indicated his interpretation of the teaching of modern languages, an interpretation which is still most worthy:

"The mere acquisition of a language then is not the ultimate object, it is a means to be employed in the acquisition of something which lies beyond. I should therefore deem my duty but half performed were I to limit my exertions to the narrow bounds of grammatical rules, nay, that I had done little for the intellectual culture of a pupil, when I had merely put an instrument into his hands without explaining to him its most important uses. It is little to point one to the portals of the magic gardens and enchanted halls of learning and to teach him certain cabalistic words at whose utterance the golden hinges of its gates shall turn:—he must be led through the glittering halls and fragrant bowers and shown where the richest treasures lie and where the clearest fountains spring. And it will be my aim not only to teach the turns and idioms of a language, but according to my ability and as soon as time and circumstances shall permit, to direct the student into the literature of those nations whose languages he is studying."[2]

Longfellow applied his interpretation to the classroom. One

[1] Letter of James F. Colby, *Nation*, vol. lxiii, p. 494.

[2] Little's "Bowdoin College," Historical Sketch, p. lxi.

of his students, who afterwards became President of the College, Samuel Harris, writes of his instruction:

"He had secured a large place for his department in the curriculum and he awakened great enthusiasm among the students. In studying French we used a grammar which he had himself prepared. In studying Italian we used a grammar in the French language also prepared by the professor. His painstaking in preparing these grammars was one of many indications of his enthusiasm in his teaching. But he did not confine himself to linguistic teaching. He aimed to open to us the literature of these languages, especially the French, and to arouse us to interest in it. In addition to the recitations already mentioned he gave a course of lectures on French literature. They were given in the chapel to the students of all the classes who chose to attend. I remember these lectures as highly elaborated and in their style highly finished and polished. Under his teaching we were able to gain a knowledge of these languages which it was easy to retain and complete after graduation so as to use them through life in the study of their respective literatures. But he did not attempt to teach us to converse in them. His literary attainments, spirit, and enthusiasm did not fail to exert an inspiring and refining influence on those thus associated with him through four years." [1]

Before the time that Longfellow was chosen to the chair at Bowdoin, Jefferson, in his scheme for the University of Virginia, was planning to give a large place to the modern languages. Jefferson speaks out of his heart as well as his intellect in saying:

"French is the language of general intercourse among nations, and as a depository of human science is unsurpassed by any other language, living or dead. Spanish is highly interesting to us as the language spoken by so great a portion of the inhabitants of our continents, with whom we shall probably have great intercourse ere long, and is that also in which is written the greater part of the early history of America. The Italian abounds with works of very superior order, valuable for their matter, and still more distinguished as models of the finest taste in style and composition. And the German now stands in a line with that of the most learned nations in richness of erudition and advance in the sciences. It is, too, of common descent with the language of our own country, a branch of the same original Gothic stock, and furnishes valuable illustrations for us." [2]

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[1] Little's "Bowdoin College," Historical Sketch, p. lx.

[2] "Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia," p. 92.

Near the year that Jefferson wrote these words Harvard University received from the estate of Abdiel Smith, of Boston, the sum of twenty thousand dollars, of which the income was to be appropriated to the support of a teacher of French and Spanish. This foundation was the first specific gift or bequest made for the teaching of a modern language. Although the teaching of French at Harvard College is associated with the name of Gallatin, yet until the establishment of the Smith professorship the teachers of modern languages were not regarded as college officers. The tuition was extramural. Tutors taught such students as might come to them, and with the students they made their own arrangements without reference to college studies or regulations. Even after the establishment of the Smith chair it was difficult to secure a proper respect for the French language or literature among the students. Francis Sales, who was instructor in French and Spanish from 1816 to his death, in 1854, was a peculiar sufferer. Of his work Dr. A. P. Peabody says:

"His French classes were large, but were composed mainly of students who sought amusement rather than instruction, and whose chief aim was to impose on his long-suffering good-nature, and to put him to his wit's end in the vain endeavor to preserve some show of discipline. When I was tutor, my room in Hollis was adjacent to his classroom; and I never found his recitation hours propitious for quiet study. Two or three times he invited my aid in restoring, or, to speak more correctly, in establishing, order, which lasted while I staid; and the few moments during which I sat while he proceeded with his class-work gave me my only personal knowledge of it."

At Columbia, French was an extramural study for which a special fee was charged. At Amherst in 1827 and 1828, in Princeton at the same time and later, French was still found to be an outside subject. The simple fact was that French was regarded as either a social accomplishment or a commercial subsidiary. The teachers were usually natives. If they failed to teach the language well they had the opportunity of becoming dancing-masters, an opportunity which they not infrequently embraced.

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[1] "Harvard Reminiscences," by A. P. Peabody, p. 49.

German was not open to the charge of being a social accomplishment. The first German taught in America was taught in the Ecclesiastical Schools of the German colonists. Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina were the chief states of their establishment. The German language and literature came into the college in part from such ecclesiastical origin. Other influences also were moving. In the midst of the Revolutionary War an endeavor was made in Philadelphia to establish a German Institute as a part of the University of Pennsylvania. Under its auspices German was studied as well as other academic branches. In 1787 there was opened, in Lancaster, Franklin College. It was named after the great Pennsylvanian out of respect not only to his character, but also because he was a contributor of the sum of one thousand dollars to its funds and because he was a special friend of the Germans. Although these two institutions in Philadelphia and in Lancaster for the promotion of the knowledge of the German language did not win lasting success in their fields, yet their establishment was significant. Franklin College was founded in the interest of the Germans, but it was not exclusively designed for them or to promote exclusively the study of their language.

The introduction of the German language into the more regular course of study was the result of two general influences: one literary and one personal. The literary forces that promoted the knowledge of German literature in America were slight, sporadic, and in certain relationships remote. Their origin was in part at least English. In the winter of 1798 Wordsworth, his sister Dorothy, and Coleridge went to Germany. The advantage which the Wordsworths received was slight. Coleridge, however, through his residence at Göttingen and elsewhere, was profoundly affected. To him above all others are England and America indebted for the introduction of German philosophy. German books were scarce in both old and New England. In 1819 Goethe gave thirty volumes of his works to Harvard College, which represented no small share of the German books to be found in Cambridge and Boston. Every German book introduced prepared the way for the introduction of other books. From the time that German was introduced into the course of

study at Harvard in 1825, the recognition of the subject was appreciative. As early as 1838 Longfellow began his lectures on Faust. The whole Transcendental movement found its origin in the greatest of all German philosophers. In the year 1840 Emerson wrote to Carlyle:

"I have contrived to read almost every volume of Goethe, and I have fifty-five, but I have read nothing else." [1]

Six years before, Emerson had written to Carlyle expressing a qualified admiration for the great German.

But the incoming of German into American life and the academic course was due more to personal than to literary influences. The Americans who went to Germany for purposes of study, and the Germans who came to America as exiles from their native land, were apostles of the great language. How deep was the effect wrought in Franklin by his brief residence in Göttingen, in 1776, it is now impossible to say. But the residence in the same town of George Ticknor, of Edward Everett, of George Bancroft, and of Frederick Henry Hedge, created a profound and what proved to be a lasting influence. The most direct effect of this residence is seen in the changes wrought in the Harvard curriculum through George Ticknor. But these changes had a far larger relation than is embodied in the study of the German language. An effect more immediately significant for the introduction of the German language lay in the presence and work of the native Germans who sought refuge, under political disability, in the United States. Among the more conspicuous of these men were Charles Follen and Charles Beck. Beck had been an instructor in the University of Basle and Follen a lecturer in the University of Giessen. Beck taught Latin at Harvard College for eighteen years, from 1832 to 1850. Follen received, in 1825, an appointment as instructor of German, which he held for ten years. At the same time that German was introduced into Harvard, it was also finding a large place in Jefferson's university. In both the Massachusetts and the Virginia institution its place was greater than was elsewhere accorded to it.

[1] "Carlyle-Emerson Correspondence," vol. i, p. 311.

The enlargement of the course of study in economics, history, modern languages, and other subjects is an application of the law of the growth of the general knowledge of a subject. As the knowledge of the material world has enlarged, the sciences thus resulting have become a part of the academic course. As a knowledge of the languages and affairs of man has increased, the resulting literature or language has been included in the curriculum. The growth of the curriculum has kept pace with the growth of human learning. The curriculum has become more manifold as human life has become more elaborate. The number and variety of topics of study and of teaching are simply the reflection of the more numerous institutions of life itself. Time has been required to transform a subject of knowledge into a tool or agent of scholarly discipline; but from decade to decade the transformation of knowledge into discipline has gone forward.

The vast enlargement of the field of knowledge has had one most significant academic consequence. It has resulted in the establishment of what is commonly known as the elective system of studies. The elective system of studies represents the application of the right of the student to choose such studies as he wills: it embodies the voluntary principle. As the student, in the vast increase of subjects of study, could not be asked to pursue all subjects, he has been set free to determine what studies he should pursue. In the early years of the American college one tutor taught a single class in all subjects. In the beginning of the last third of the eighteenth century (in the year 1766), in Harvard College, the transfer was made from the teaching of classes by one tutor to the teaching of each subject by a single tutor. As the number of students increased in a college it became inevitable that one professor, unaided, could not teach at one time the same subject to all classes. The student, therefore, was not able to receive in each year instruction by every member of the teaching staff. Such a state of affairs promoted a condition favorable to the elective system of studies. But the essential factor lying behind the introduction and progress of the elective system was the vast increase of the subjects of knowledge and of the knowledge in each subject.

The institutions most directly and intimately associated with the development of the voluntary system were William and Mary College, the University of Virginia, Harvard, and Brown; and the men most vitally connected with this development were Thomas Jefferson, George Ticknor, Francis Wayland, and Charles W. Eliot. These institutions and personalities represented a powerful quartette.

It is not difficult, however, to trace a certain origin of the elective system back to the year 1779 and to the College of William and Mary. The period was a time of freedom. Individuality was dominant. In this year a certain reorganization of William and Mary was accomplished. Jefferson was at the time the Governor of Virginia and a visitor of the College. He abolished the grammar school. He also abolished the chairs of divinity and of oriental languages. He established a chair of law and politics, a chair of anatomy and medicine, a chair of modern languages. To the duties of the professor of moral philosophy he added a requirement of instruction touching the law of nature and of nations and of the fine arts, and to the duties of the professor of mathematics and of natural philosophy he added the requirement of the duty of instruction in natural history. The faculty also voted that a student on certain payment (one thousand pounds of tobacco) might be entitled to attend the instruction of any two of three professors. Thus, before Jefferson went to France, the principle of the elective system seems to have been conceived and somewhat appreciated by him.

The link uniting the earliest college in Virginia with its greatest was Thomas Jefferson. The University of Virginia was based on what is now known as the elective system. Its system of schools was and is an elaborate and distinct application of this system. Jefferson's conception of the elective principle breathes the spirit of the Declaration of Independence; but this conception was reënforced by his later knowledge of educational conditions obtaining in Germany and France. In 1823 Jefferson wrote to George Ticknor saying:

"I am not fully informed of the practices at Harvard, but there is one from which we shall certainly vary, although it has been copied, I believe, by nearly every college and academy in the United States. That

is, the holding the students all to one prescribed course of reading, and disallowing the exclusive application to those branches only which are to qualify them for the particular vocations to which they are destined. We shall, on the contrary, allow them uncontrolled choice in the lectures they shall choose to attend, and require elementary qualification only and sufficient age. Our institution will proceed on the principle of doing all the good it can, without consulting its own pride or ambition; of letting every one come and listen to whatever he thinks may improve the condition of his mind." [1]

Jefferson was a friend of that fine, unique personality, George Ticknor. Ticknor went from Boston to Monticello in 1815, at the age of twenty-three, to visit Jefferson; and he also paid a visit to him in the very winter in which the University was opened. In the nine years that divide these two visits the correspondence between the old and famous man and the most promising youth was frequent. Jefferson wished to make Ticknor a professor in his University. In 1817 Jefferson wrote to him saying:

"Would to God we could have two or three duplicates of yourself, the original being above our means or hopes. If then we fail in doing all the good we wish, we will do, at least, all we can. This is the law of duty in every society of free agents, where every one has equal right to judge for himself. God bless you, and give to the means of benefiting mankind which you will bring home with you, all the success your high qualifications ought to insure." [2]

The next year he also wrote:

"You will come home fraught with great means of promoting the science, and consequently the happiness of your country; the only obstacle to which will be, that your circumstances will not compel you to sacrifice your own ease to the good of others. Many are the places which would court your choice; and none more fervently than the college I have heretofore mentioned to you, now expected to be adopted by the State and liberally endowed under the name of 'the University of Virginia.' . . . I pass over our professorship of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and

[1] "Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia," by H. B. Adams, pp. 123, 124.

[2] "Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor," vol. i, p. 302.

that of modern languages, French, Italian, Spanish, German, and Anglo-Saxon, which, although the most lucrative, would be the most laborious, and notice that which you would splendidly fill, of Ideology, Ethics, Belles-Lettres, and Fine Arts. I have some belief, too, that our genial climate would be more friendly to your constitution than the rigors of that of Massachusetts; but all this may possibly yield to the *hoc cœlum, sub quo natus educatusque essem.*" [1]

Ticknor was certainly greatly impressed. Writing from Monticello, in 1824, to his friend Prescott, Ticknor says:

"Of the details of the system I shall discourse much when I see you. It is more practical than I feared, but not so practical that I feel satisfied of its success. It is, however, an experiment worth trying, to which I earnestly desire the happiest results; and they have, to begin it, a mass of buildings more beautiful than anything architectural in New England, and more appropriate to an university than can be found, perhaps, in the world." [2]

That Jefferson's experiment may have had some influence upon Ticknor's conception of the methods of education is probable. But it is also probable that the residence of Ticknor at Göttingen had an influence at least as potent. George Ticknor arrived at Göttingen in 1815. It was at this time the leading university. To it Ticknor, as well as other Americans going to Germany, naturally found his way. Not only its fame, but also its location in Hanover, which was at the time a possession of the English crown, caused it to attract English-speaking students. Among its teachers and scholars in the time of Ticknor were Kästner, Benecke, Schultze, and Eichhorn in mathematics; Gauss and Blumenbach in natural history. That Ticknor was profoundly impressed by his years spent at Göttingen is evident. He was a hard worker. Each day he labored twelve hours. His chief subjects were Greek and German, and the subsidiary ones Italian and French. He was especially impressed with the principle of individualism obtaining in the University. He wrote his friend Edward T. Channing, in 1816, saying that each philosopher seemed to have a system of his own collected from the separated

[1] "Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor," vol. i, p. 303.
[2] Ibid., p. 348.

parts of the systems of Kant, Fichte, and Schelling. Each professor and student became, therefore, an eclectic. Through listening to such individual interpretations each student was able to find his own intellectual freedom.

Before he returned to America Ticknor was elected to the Smith professorship. It was not long after he assumed his duties that he found himself hampered by the general conditions of instruction. Success in his department was limited by reason of general deficiencies. Both in respect to learning and to discipline, Harvard college was not satisfactory either to its wiser and warmer friends or to the general community. The discipline was lax; the scholastic standards low. Writing to Sir Charles Lyell, in 1859, Ticknor said:

"I had a vision of such an establishment forty years ago, when I came fresh from the two-years' residence at Göttingen; but that was too soon. Nobody listened to me." [1]

Among the most important changes which George Ticknor thought ought to be made in Harvard College was the substitution of the elective for the required system of studies. In the year 1825 he published a pamphlet bearing the title "Remarks on Changes Lately Proposed or Adopted in Harvard University." The change to the elective system was among the most important which he considers. He declares that the branches of knowledge have grown to be so numerous and important that the old principle of requiring every student to pass through the hands of every instructor can no longer be wisely applied. He affirms that the instruction given should be divided into separate departments. He believes that the teacher at the head of each department should be responsible for its management and success. He should feel special responsibility for the character and faithfulness of the instructors who are his associates, and for the progress of the students. He also believes that this division would promote the acquiring of a knowledge of subjects, and not cause a contentment with simply learning certain books. Such a condition would increase the interest of the students in their work,

[1] "Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor," vol. ii, p. 422.

and would further tend to make the knowledge they acquired more valuable for their future vocation. He contends that the choice of studies would connect college years more intimately with the after-life, and would render these years more directly useful to that life. He expresses the hope that this system, which is now in use in the University of Virginia, will be considered indispensable in all the more advanced colleges.[1]

Under the influence of George Ticknor and more progressive members of the Corporation and Board of Overseers a large latitude of choice was allowed students. Election began early. The modern languages, however, were almost the only subjects that could be used in effecting substitutions. The small number of teachers imposed a narrow limit upon the application of the elective principle. In the twenty years from 1826 to 1846 the system, on the whole, grew in favor. In September, 1846, in answer to the request of President Everett made to the members of the Faculty for their opinion regarding the advantages and disadvantages of the system, it was found that the Faculty was evenly divided upon its merits. It was also found that those teachers who had had in their own departments the larger experience of the system were the more favorable. President Everett was opposed. The successor of Everett, Sparks, was more opposed than Everett had been. He attacked the system with energy both through the Faculty and the Corporation. In the following twenty years, down to the year 1866, the Faculty also showed a decided distrust of the elective principle. It was not until the college year of 1869–70 that the principle had secured a firm place, a place which received constant enlargement the following years.[2]

Another element in the promotion of the elective system was the influence of President Wayland.

The presidents and professors in the American colleges in the first half of the nineteenth century were more concerned with questions of knowledge than of administration; and were also

[1] "Remarks on Changes Lately Proposed or Adopted in Harvard University," pp. 38–40.

[2] "Annual Reports of the President and Treasurer of Harvard College," 1883–84, pp. 6–24.

more concerned with rendering effective certain departments of study than they were with the whole question of education. In some respects they were not educators. The science of education, in its administrative or psychological relations, was still to be developed. But among the few presidents who were educators was Wayland, of Brown. His interpretation of education was set forth in two works, one published in 1842 bearing the title " Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System in the United States," and the other " A Report to the Corporation of Brown University on Changes in the System of Collegiate Education," made by a committee of which he was chairman, and read in 1850. In the first President Wayland lays down a principle which naturally would result in the elective system. He says:

"Instead of fixing upon a period of four or five or six years, I would designate the amount of knowledge and discipline which could be attained by ordinary talent and persevering diligence during that time. But supposing this time to be fixed, the question is how shall it be occupied; in thorough or in superficial study; in full and manly development of the powers of the mind or in merely running over elements? That is to say, shall we so arrange the course that every subject taught can be so far pursued as to render the student a proficient in it, and thus impart to his mind the character of manliness and original power; or shall we oppress the time by the multitude of particulars crowded into it, so that neither pupil nor teacher can either communicate or receive any thing more than an outline of science? It seems to me that the proper course is marked out by plain common sense. Let the requirements for a degree be high, but let them be high in attainment of knowledge and not in the number of things to be properly learned. Or, if it be thought that every thing at present taught should be required of the candidate, then let the period of study be extended. What we do let us do well, and then our system will recommend itself." [1]

In the course of the following eight years the ideas of President Wayland became crystallized in definite forms. In his later address, made to the Corporation of Brown University, he lays down the following revolutionary principles:

[1] "Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System in the United States," by Francis Wayland, p. 103

"1. The present system of adjusting collegiate study to a fixed term of four years, or to any other term, must be abandoned, and every student be allowed, within limits to be determined by statute, to carry on, at the same time, a greater or less number of courses as he may choose.

"2. The time allotted to each particular course of instruction would be determined by the nature of the course itself, and not by its supposed relation to the wants of any particular profession.

"3. The various courses should be so arranged, that, in so far as it is practicable, every student might study what he chose, all that he chose, and nothing but what he chose. The Faculty, however, at the request of a parent or guardian, should have authority to assign to any student, such courses as they might deem for his advantage.

"4. Every course of instruction, after it has been commenced, should be continued without interruption until it is completed.

"5. In addition to the present courses of instruction, such should be established as the wants of the various classes of the community require.

"6. Every student attending any particular course, should be at liberty to attend any other that he may desire.

"7. It would be required that no student be admitted as a candidate for a degree, unless he had honorably sustained his examination in such studies as may be ordained by the corporation; but no student would be under any obligation to proceed to a degree, unless he chose." [1]

The recommendations which were thus made were, to a degree, incorporated in the course of study in Brown University; but the incorporation was not lasting. At Brown, as at Harvard, the time was not ripe for the permanent adoption of the elective principle. The enlargement of the field of knowledge was to become yet broader, the life of the American people yet more manifold, scholastic enthusiasm greater, before the application of this principle was to prove to be permanently effective. But the endeavors put forth by Thomas Jefferson, George Ticknor, and Francis Wayland were not ultimately to be without result. Jefferson's experiment contained in itself the elements of a triumph which were to occupy a field very much broader than that which his university immediately served.

In the whole movement for the enlargement and enrichment

[1] "Report to the Corporation of Brown University, on Changes in the System of Collegiate Education," read March 28, 1850, pp. 51, 52.

of the higher education through either the elective or other system, the German influence has been dominant. This influence has been much broader than has been indicated in the introduction of the German language and literature into the academic course. It has had relation to every study and to every department of research. Greek and biology, philosophy and mathematics, economics, archæology, have been alike touched by it. The great scholars in each department have usually been of German origin and training.[1] The literary and scholastic influences, moreover, which have promoted the study of German literature itself, have also contributed to the pursuit of all those subjects of which great books have been the interpretation and the exponent. German philosophy, for instance, has wrought a noble work in human thinking through the study of the writings of German

[1] In the first volume of *The Dial*, Theodore Parker in an article on German literature wrote:

"But from what country do we get editions of the classics, that are worth the reading, in which modern science and art are brought to bear on the ancient text? What country nurtures the men that illustrate Homer, Herodotus, the Anthology of Planudes, and the dramatic poets? Who explain for us the antiquities of Athens, and write minute treatises on the law of inheritance,the castes, tribes, and manners of the men of Attica? Who collect all the necessary facts, and reproduce the ideas lived out, consciously or unconsciously, on the banks of the Eurotas, the Nile, or the Alpheus? Why, the Germans. We do not hesitate to say, that in the present century not a Greek or a Roman classic has been tolerably edited in England, except through the aid of some German scholar. The costly editions of Greek authors that come to us from Oxford and London, beautiful reprints of Plato, Aristotle, Aristophanes, Euripides, Sophocles, Æschylus, Herodotus, the Attic orators, and Plotinus; all these are the work of German erudition, German toil, German genius sometimes. . . . Whence come even the grammars and lexicons, of almost universal use in studying the ancient authors? The names of Reimer, and Damm, and Schneider, and Büttmann, and Passow, give the answer. Where are the English classical scholars in this country, who take rank with Wolf, Heyne, Schweighauser, Wyttenbach, Boeckh, Herrmann, Jacobs, Siebelis, Hoffmann, Siebenkis, Müller, Creutzer, Wellauer, and Ast? Nay, where shall we find the rivals of Dindorf, Shäfer, Stallbaum, Spitzner, Bothe, and Bekker, and a host more, for we have only written down those which rush into our mind? What English name of the present century can be mentioned with the least of these? Not one. They labor, and we may enter into their labors, if we are not too foolish. Who write ancient history like Niehbuhr, and Müller, and Schlosser?" (*The Dial*, January, 1841, pp. 321, 322.)

philosophers. "The Critique of Pure Reason," and each of the greatest works of the several successors of Kant, as professors of the absolute in philosophy, have profoundly influenced the academic and the general community of the New World.

But the higher education, in its content and movement, has been deeply moved by the personality of those who, in the nineteenth century, completed their academic education in Germany, as well as by the works of the Germans themselves. The number of such Americans who studied at Göttingen, Berlin, Leipzig, and Halle, previous to 1850, was about one hundred; the number who have matriculated at these and other universities in the last fifty years represents several thousand men. The list of the later time includes the names of most American scholars. The list of the earlier period contains such names as Edward Everett, George Ticknor, George Bancroft, Henry W. Longfellow, J. Lothrop Motley, Benjamin Apthorp Gould, George M. Lane, Francis J. Child, Henry Boynton Smith, George L. Prentiss, Horatio B. Hackett, John L. Lincoln, Roswell D. Hitchcock, William Dwight Whitney, and Theodore Dwight Woolsey.[1] The increase of students, too, from American States has been great and swift. In 1835–36, four Americans were enrolled; in 1860–61, the number had increased to seventy-seven; twenty years later (1880–81), one hundred and seventy-three were reported; and in 1891–92 the enrollment sprang up to four hundred and forty-six. The percentage, too, of students from America in comparison with students from other foreign countries increased from one to twenty-two and a half.[2]

In association with Americans who studied abroad and who, by reason of their education in Germany, exerted on their return a strong German influence upon American education, should be specially named Frederick Henry Hedge. Hedge, in the year 1817, at the age of twelve, was fitted to enter Harvard College. He was, however, sent to Germany in the care of

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[1] "Notes on the History of Foreign Influences upon Education in the United States," by Dr. B. A. Hinsdale, Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1897–98, vol. i, pp. 592, 629.

[2] W. Lexis, "Die deutschen Universitäten," p. 128.

George Bancroft. In several gymnasia of Germany he spent five years. Although he himself came to feel that he would have made better progress if he had stayed at home, yet he acquired not only a thorough knowledge of the German language, but also became deeply interested in German poetry and philosophy. He thus qualified himself, in a way more efficient than belonged to his contemporary students who were studying in the universities, for his great work as a pioneer in introducing German poetry and philosophy into his native country.[1]

The men, therefore, who went from American colleges to German universities in the threescore years and ten from 1815 to 1885, returning to their native land profoundly influenced American education. They brought back with them a spirit of freedom in learning and of freedom in teaching, together with a keen and large appreciation of scholarship. The university inspired each of these men to engage in independent research and thought; it quickened the instinct of creation; it aroused a sense of scholarship; it gave an appreciation of the value of scholastic tools, such as libraries and laboratories. Furthermore, it gave to each man a sense of liberty both as a student and as a teacher. It taught him that the ideal of truth was alone, on the scholastic side, worthy of his following, and that on the personal side, the making of men, worthy to enjoy and to use liberty, men of highest purpose, of broadest thinking, of keenest discrimination, and of appreciation of responsibility, was and is the noblest human result of scholarship and of training. The university emancipated the human spirit. It brought men under the influence of the law of faith and of love. It showed the value of the influence of character over character. *Wissenschaft*, *Lernfreiheit*, and *Lehrfreiheit* were the rallying cry which inspired American students trained in Germany for doing their great work as teachers and as leaders in their native country.[2] German influence is now passing, as

[1] See illuminating article by Dr. J. W. Chadwick, in *Nation* for August 28, 1890, No. 1313.

[2] Between the years 1816 and 1818, George Ticknor, Joseph Green Cogswell, and Edward Everett were studying together at Göttingen. Their letters prove that they all were profoundly impressed by the superiority of German education. The superiority of both German and American education to Eng-

have passed the French and the English. But for the three-quarters of the century in which it was dominant its worth in the development of America was great.

Yet one should not omit to say that men whose studies, though not carried on in Germany, were yet carried on in German, have had a large influence in developing the higher education. This influence has at times been professional and theological, as it was in the case of Moses Stuart. For a decade in the beginning of the century, Professor Stuart at Andover did the work of a pioneer. The opposition to him, on the ground of heresy, was bitter. But he endured, and late in life he entered into the promised land of large scholarship and hearty appreciation.[1] Another man at Andover as a student was fitting himself in the same period for a large service in the introduction of the German language and literature. In the first year of the third decade James Marsh had made himself an excellent student of German, was writing German books, and was, in the light of the training, criticising English literature. Soon after leaving Andover, he entered upon his scholastic career, covering the three colleges of Dartmouth, Hampden-Sidney, and the University of Vermont. While president and professor at the University of Vermont he came to be recognized as the head of the school of Coleridge in the United States. To Marsh and to Stuart, who were Germans without ever having been in Germany, scholarship is vastly in debt, as it is to the men who went to Göttingen in the second decade of the century and to the hundreds of men who followed them in the succeeding years.

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lish is indicated in a letter which Edward Everett wrote from Oxford in the year 1818. "I have been over two months in England, and am now visiting Oxford, having passed a Week in Cambridge. There is more teaching and more learning in our American Cambridge than there is in both the English Universities together, tho' between them they have four times Our number of Students."—Article by Thomas Wentworth Higginson, "Göttingen and Harvard Eighty Years Ago," *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, September, 1897, pp. 6–18.

[1] Address on Moses Stuart, by Prof. Edwards A. Park, "Memorial Collection of Sermons," p. 199.

CHAPTER XIV

FINANCIAL HISTORY

THE financial history of the higher education is akin at least in one significant respect to the scholastic: it represents responsiveness to the conditions obtaining in the community. The property possessed by the colleges and the amount of benefactions received by them represent the pecuniary condition of the country. In the poverty of the community the colleges were poor; and in the enlargement of the people in their basket and their store the college chest also enlarged.

In their financial relations all colleges are so similar that the record seems to be rather a history of a movement than a history of several different institutions. The financial history of the single New England college of the seventeenth century is like the history of a college in the Mississippi Valley in the middle of the nineteenth century, or of a college on the northern Pacific Coast in the last decades of the same century. As the infant child passes through, in its development, all the phases of the development of the race, so every college seems to begin in poverty and to grow through penury unto competency or even affluence. Their history is a story of small beginnings made in poverty; of hard struggles to secure funds for either endowment or immediate expenditure; of a success usually moderate in such endeavors; of expenses frequently exceeding income; of economies at times foolish in method, at times wise, but usually necessary; of constant anxieties borne by officers—anxieties at times which crush; of inability to keep covenants, either expressed or implied; and of consequent suffering of teachers—sufferings under which teachers find the support in the value of the high commissions entrusted to them. Such is the outline of the financial history of the American college.

The early benefactions of the first college included such offer-

ings as sheep, cotton cloth worth nine shillings, a pewter flagon worth ten, and such silver goods as fruit dishes, silver spoons and jugs. The gifts or legacies were measured by shillings as well as by pounds.

The early history of Harvard is repeated in the history of almost every college founded in the Mississippi Valley in the middle decades of the last century. It is a record of great sacrifices nobly rendered, joyously endured. In the year 1849, the Congregational ministers of Iowa gave $452.65 to the college which bears the name of the State. The wives of the ministers resolved to raise $100 out of their own resources, and at one meeting fourteen persons subscribed $70. In the year 1852, $153 were raised; in the next year $711.

One of the later colleges founded on or near the banks of the Mississippi was Carleton of Minnesota. The history of Carleton College is in essence the history of the first decades of Harvard, of Yale, and of Princeton. Ministers, missionaries, of small salaries, in part unpaid, gave, year by year, no small share of their stipends. Indians contributed their offerings. One missionary who had no money gave a colt which was entered as having a value of forty dollars. Such records are found in the history of hundreds of colleges from Pomona and Pacific Grove to Colby on the Kennebec. They represent the noblest type of human and humane patriotism and of Christian idealism.

The increase in the funds of the American colleges until the middle of the nineteenth century was slow, and the resulting amount was small. On the fourth of July, 1776, when Massachusetts ceased to be a province, the total amount of the funds of Harvard College was between sixteen thousand and seventeen thousand pounds. This sum represented the gifts and legacies of one hundred and forty years. In the year 1840, the funds amounted to six hundred and forty-six thousand dollars. This sum, however, did not include many college buildings to which no value was attached in the college accounts.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the whole amount of the productive funds of all the colleges was probably less than five hundred thousand dollars. Their property, in buildings, apparatus, and endowment, was the result of more than a hun-

dred and fifty years' accumulation. The increment of each decade was small. Throughout the seventeenth century Harvard received in money about seven thousand pounds, and during the eighteenth century, down to 1780, about thirty thousand pounds. Up to the beginning, therefore, of the last century, the amount received in money, both for capital account and for immediate expenditure, was hardly in excess of two hundred thousand dollars. In the great administration of Kirkland about four hundred thousand dollars were received. But even as late as the year 1840 the productive property of the oldest and the wealthiest college which could be used for college purposes was only a hundred and fifty-six thousand dollars. It should be added that the University possessed almost four hundred thousand dollars for use in departments outside of the collegiate.

At the beginning of the fourth decade the total productive funds of Yale College were less than thirty thousand dollars. Against this sum were to be charged debts of about thirteen thousand. The total income of the funds of the year 1830 did not amount to three thousand dollars.

The entire receipts from all sources, including tuition, in the year 1831 were slightly less than twenty thousand dollars, and the expenses were slightly more. These conditions embodied the result of a hundred and thirty years of private beneficence, of public grant, and of constant and careful economy. Between its foundation and the year 1792 Yale received from the State of Connecticut twenty-four thousand dollars; in that year it received a grant of taxes which yielded forty thousand dollars. In 1816 and 1831 fifteen thousand dollars was paid by the State. The donations of individuals had not in their amount approached the sums given by the Commonwealth. In addition to books, Governor Yale had given goods which yielded four hundred pounds sterling; Dr. Daniel Lathrop, who died in 1782, made a bequest of five hundred pounds. Oliver Wolcott, who had been governor of the State, as well as his father and grandfather, gave two thousand dollars in 1807. A graduate of the Class of 1791 gave three thousand dollars at his death in 1814 through his will for the library, and Whitney, the inventor of the cotton gin,

of the Class of 1792, gave in 1822 five hundred dollars for purchasing books in mechanical and physical science. These and smaller sums given by Governor Saltonstall and Philip Livingston, represent the chief donations received by the College down to the year 1830.

At the same period, near the close of the third decade, the annual income of the permanent funds of Princeton was less than two thousand dollars; and the total resources of the College for the year were less than seven thousand.

Columbia College began its great career under hopeful pecuniary conditions, which presently, however, became clouded. After almost a century of existence its annual income from all sources was less than two thousand dollars, and its annual expenses more. Deficits were constant, and although absolutely small, were relatively large and always annoying. As late as the year 1850 its debt had grown to be sixty-eight thousand dollars.

Brown University had been in existence more than fifty years when its permanent funds amounted to thirty-one thousand dollars. The progress in the next thirty years was more significant. In that period the College added about a hundred and seventy thousand dollars to its productive assets.

At the beginning of the decade in 1831 large additions were made to the productive funds of most colleges. The fourth decade was in its first years a period of great financial as well as of educational and ecclesiastical enthusiasm. The effect of the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825 in the development of material resources was becoming manifest. The value of the Mississippi Valley to the nation was beginning to be largely appreciated. The belief that steam could be used in navigation was passing into an assured conviction. The colleges were quick to take advantage of these inspiring conditions. At this time a hundred thousand dollars were raised through the labor and sacrifice on the part of many donors to the funds of Yale College. Princeton also made a large addition. Harvard received as a bequest from Christopher Gore, who died in 1829, a hundred thousand dollars. His beneficence to Harvard was the greatest of any benefactor up to the close of the first third of the nineteenth cen-

tury.[1] The amount, too, that he gave, either in his life or through his will, was greater than that given by any American to any institution of the higher learning. In fact, the gift of fifty thousand dollars of Abbott Lawrence, in the year 1847, to found the Scientific School bearing his name, was the largest gift made by one man during his lifetime to a public institution of education.

The benefactors to the cause of the higher education in America in its first two centuries were among the noblest men of two continents. Their benefactions represent the income of landed estates, of ship-owning and of ship-sailing, and of commercial ventures. Among the more distinguished and the more numerous, as well as the earliest, members of any family bestowing significant gifts upon the oldest college were the members of the Hollis family. No less than six individuals bearing the name are found in the list of benefactors. The first and the greatest was Thomas Hollis, who was born in 1659 and died in 1731. For about a century the donations of members of this family continued to fall into the Harvard chest. Among other great names is that of James Bowdoin, a member of a family who, on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, came to America. He himself was born in Boston in 1727, and graduated at Harvard in 1745.

The University in Providence is indebted to members of one family in the same significant way as Harvard was indebted to the Hollis family. In the year 1803 the Corporation of the College of Rhode Island passed a vote to the effect "that the donation of five thousand dollars, if made to this College within one year from the late Commencement, shall entitle the donor to name the College."[2] By the wishes of his friends, Mr. Nicholas Brown responded to this vote, giving the sum specified as a fund

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[1] It is to be remembered that the bequest of Stephen Girard, who died in 1831, of eight millions of dollars to found the college which now bears his name, was not a bequest to establish a college of liberal learning. Girard College is essentially an orphanage. Boys are admitted between the ages of six and ten, and are to be apprenticed between the ages of fourteen and eighteen to some occupation.

[2] Guild's "History of Brown University," p. 323.

for the establishment of a professorship. The benefactions of the family in successive generations have increased with the increase of years.

To the middle of the nineteenth century the sums given to the American college were small. Small, too, for the larger part of the more than two centuries of the history of the higher education was the property of the community. Manufactures were largely domestic. Agriculture was the chief occupation. Money was always scarce and was often depreciated. The apparently necessary evil of a paper currency at many periods worked havoc with all relationships. Country pay could give the means of comfort to a simple people, but it could not provide resources for great enterprises. The day of the corporation was remote. The whole colonial era produced only six business corporations. The thirteen years of statehood confederation brought forth twenty, and the confederation itself produced one. In the last eleven years of the eighteenth century only two hundred business corporations were formed. The wealth of the community was slight and insecure, and the share of it that could be given to the college was also small.

Down to the beginning of the fourth decade of the century nearly all colleges were enriched to a degree through lotteries. The first American lottery was drawn in Philadelphia in the year 1720. For more than a century lotteries were established in every colony and state. They were the most popular method of securing certain public benefits. They were held in general favor, or at least with toleration. Seldom did they exist for private gain. They were organized for public improvements of every sort. Lotteries were looked upon as a sort of voluntary tax for building canals, paving streets, repairing bridges, mending roads, erecting churches, and furnishing colleges with buildings or endowments. The foundation of Washington as the capital of the nation has some association with a lottery; Faneuil Hall of Boston is, in part at least, the result of a drawing which came to its close in 1764. The last year of the life of Jefferson was brightened and also saddened by an endeavor to extricate his estate from its financial difficulties through a lottery.

Colleges were also allowed to adopt this method for their

enrichment. In the year 1750 Yale College was authorized to raise a building fund through a lottery. In 1772 a similar permission was granted to Harvard College, which finally resulted in the erection of Stoughton Hall. In 1806 the College received twenty-nine thousand dollars as the proceeds of a lottery, money which was used in repairing Massachusetts Hall and in building Holworthy. The first fifty years of the history of Princeton College were characterized by various drawings. The last endeavor for a lottery was made in 1814. The application was denied, but the refusal was not founded on conscientious scruples; for at this very time the trustees of Queen's or Rutgers College were allowed the right of using a lottery as a means for the reëstablishing of that institution. For about a score of years at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century Brown University sought for the right to establish a drawing for its benefit.

The most significant lottery ever drawn was that established by vote of the Legislature of New York in 1814 for the benefit of Union. Hamilton College and the College of Physicians and Surgeons were also its beneficiaries. The amount appropriated to Hamilton was forty thousand dollars, and to the Medical School thirty thousand. The sum secured for Union was no less than two hundred thousand dollars. The drawing resulted not only in immediate benefit—in the increase of facilities and enlargement of endowment of Union College—but also was the beginning of a prolonged and delicate litigation. Of the sum of two hundred thousand dollars granted, one hundred thousand was appropriated to buildings, twenty thousand to the library and apparatus, fifty thousand as a fund for the aid of indigent students, and the balance of thirty thousand dollars was assigned to the payment of debts. But from the third decade of the nineteenth century, colleges have seldom, or never, received any advantage from lotteries. Colleges, like the general community, have learned that lotteries organized for the public service and utilities have produced pecuniary results of a trifling value. These results have proved to be no compensation for the vast amounts drawn from the people. The necessary evils connected with the system, even when it has been administered under the sanction of the law, have

served to disturb unduly the public mind. The experience of the past proves that the lottery is among the most pregnant and perilous causes of misery. No form of speculation is more seductive to many minds, and few, if any, bring greater pain.[1] In the fourth decade began a public agitation for their abolition. In 1833 they were formally prohibited in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, and in Connecticut in the following year.

The money that was secured from lotteries was, in the case of most colleges, used for the specific purpose of the erection of buildings. The income of the small endowment funds and also the income received from the fees of students have usually been used in meeting the costs of the ordinary administration. The chief item of expense in the college budget was, as it still is, the payment of salaries. Although throughout the first two centuries salaries were small, yet they were large in proportion to income. This item of expense was one which trustees were constantly inclined to cut down. In the year 1828 it was proposed at Princeton to reduce the salary of the president to sixteen hundred dollars, and of professors to a thousand. In Columbia at about the same period the salary of the president was two hundred dollars less than the salary of the president at Princeton, and the salaries of the professors two hundred dollars more than that received by the Princeton teachers. Henry Drisler, of the Class of 1779 of Columbia, began his prolonged and distinguished association with the College on a salary as instructor that did not exceed two hundred dollars. In the year 1836 the salaries of the professors of Amherst College were increased from eight hundred to one thousand dollars, and the salaries of tutors were continued at four hundred and fifty.

The financial history of the newer colleges, however, founded in the western states in the nineteenth century, represents a constant and prolonged endeavor for securing great results in moral and intellectual character through small pecuniary forces. The scarcity of money—characteristic of every new community—has been felt by those who would give for the endowment of

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[1] "Lotteries in American History," by A. R. Spofford. "Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1892," pp. 173–195.

a college, and also by those who as teachers have labored in and through the college. Country pay has been a not unusual method in which professors received their compensation.[1] The poverty of the community was reflected in the penury of the college, as in later times the wealth of the community has contributed to the wealth of the college.

The forms of credit in which the college has invested its funds have also varied with the similar forms of credit obtaining in the community. In the year 1825 thirty-one thousand dollars (the entire permanent funds of Brown University) were, with the exception of eight thousand dollars, invested in the stock of five banks. In the year 1850 the two hundred thousand dollars of its endowment were invested largely in either railroad bonds or in the notes of manufacturing corporations. These forms of investment are significant of the enlarging industrial and commercial relationships of the community. Trustees have for the last hundred years invested their funds in the more secure forms of credit which the community has been able to offer. The losses which have occurred have, on the whole, been slight. The panic of 1837 affected the property and the income of colleges as it did of other corporations or individuals. Bowdoin College, in its early history, lost several thousand dollars through the depreciation of bank stock. But the evil wrought in the colleges by commercial panics has been less serious than that wrought in the general community. No form of property has, on the whole, been so secure both in its principal and interest, and in securing as well the purposes to which its income is assigned, as the productive funds of the college.

The chief expenditure of the colleges throughout their history has been in the support of instruction. Academic salaries have always been small. They have, on the whole, been of the same general amount as the salaries of clergymen. At the time of the Revolution, each professor at Harvard College was receiving an annual stipend of two hundred pounds; the President, about three hundred pounds; the Treasurer, eighty pounds; and the Librarian, sixty pounds. Two generations after, at the close

[1] From Western Reserve College Records.

of the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, the President was receiving two thousand two hundred and thirty-five dollars, and the usual professional salary was from eighteen to fifteen hundred dollars, although there was at least one salary of two thousand dollars and others of one thousand dollars.

Attempts have been made in most colleges to equalize all salaries without regard to the value of the service rendered. But such attempts have usually failed. The stipend received by a member of the teaching staff has depended upon the income that might be attached to the specific chair he filled, as well as upon the annual determination made by a Board of Trust. In certain colleges, and especially in their beginning, salaries have frequently been dependent upon the amount of money which a college might possess after having paid what might be called its necessary bills. This method, which was popular among many proprietary medical schools, has obtained among some colleges, but the custom is now fast passing.

In the last decades of the last century, the necessary and customary method of small beginnings and constant poverty, but of slow enlargement, approached its end. The foundation of the University of Chicago, and of the Leland Stanford, Jr., University, represented the devotion of many millions to the cause of the higher education. In the great increase of the property of the American nation, and in the great increase of the amount given in beneficence, the colleges in the last decades have been among the most favored objects of good-will. The amount of money bestowed upon the colleges each year represents a beneficence the like of which the world has never known. At the present time, there are no less than sixty-five colleges having an endowment of over five hundred thousand dollars. Twenty-nine have an endowment between this sum and one million; fifteen have an endowment between one million and one million and a half; ten an endowment between this sum and three millions; four between three millions and five; four between five millions and eight and a half; and three an endowment of over twelve and a half millions.[1]

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[1] "Report of Commissioner of Education," 1903, vol. i, p. 1143.

After two hundred and seventy years, the property of American colleges has come to amount to about four hundred million dollars. This sum is divided, with comparative equality, between interest-bearing funds, and buildings, libraries and scientific apparatus. The additions made to this sum have been especially rapid in the last years of the nineteenth and the first years of the twentieth century. In each of the years of the last decade of the last century, the annual increment was about seven million dollars. The annual increment in the middle years of the first decade of the twentieth century is about fifteen millions. The larger share of these additions is made in colleges in the North Atlantic and the North Central states. About three-quarters of the amount is to be credited to this territory and is to be divided almost equally between the two sections. The Southern states receive the smallest benefactions.

dolls. The first decades of the nineteenth century record this transformation. President Dwight is still a wise interpreter when he says:

"Miss, the darling of her father and the pride of her mother, is taught from the beginning to regard her dress as a momentous concern. She is instructed in embroidery merely that she may finish a piece of work, which from time to time is to be brought out, to be seen, admired, and praised, by visitors; or framed, and hung up in the room, to be still more frequently seen, admired and praised. She is taught music, only that she may perform a few times, to excite the same admiration, and applause, for her skill on the forte piano. She is taught to draw, merely to finish a picture, which, when richly framed and ornamented, is hung up, to become an altar for the same incense. Do not misunderstand me. I have no quarrel with these accomplishments. So far as they contribute to make the subject of them more amiable, useful, or happy, I admit their value. It is the *employment* of them which I censure; the sacrifice, made by the parent of his property, and his child at the shrine of vanity.

"The Reading of girls is regularly lighter than that of boys. When the standard of reading for boys is set too low, that for girls will be proportionally lowered. Where boys investigate books of sound philosophy, and labour in mathematical and logical pursuits; girls read history, the higher poetry, and judicious discourses in morality, and religion. When the utmost labour of boys is bounded by history, biography, and the pamphlets of the day; girls sink down to songs, novels, and plays."[1]

Out of this condition of intellectual insipidity and emotional intensity, the education of women has, for almost one hundred years, been rising. The first step in the progress was the establishment of academies. The academies organized near the close of the eighteenth and in the first decades of the nineteenth century in New England were open to girls. Leicester Academy was incorporated in 1784, and one at Westford in 1793. Bradford received its first students in 1803. A department for girls was not opened till 1828; after 1836, only girls were received. The first academy designed for girls only was founded in Derry, New Hampshire, in 1823. The first in Massachusetts was Ipswich, which received its act of incorporation in 1828. The next year Abbot Academy at Andover received its charter. Before

[1] "Dwight's Travels," vol. i, pp. 514, 515.

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These schools represent the intimations of a growing public sentiment in favor of the higher education of women. The education which they gave was remote from the college atmosphere and condition, but they were preparing the mind of the people for yet further progress.

In the third and fourth decades of the century, emerge several personalities of conspicuous and permanent significance. Among them were Emma Willard, Catherine Beecher, Joseph Emerson, and Mary Lyon. As an associate with Miss Lyon should be named Zilpah P. Grant, who was the principal of the Adams Academy at Derry, and also of the seminary at Ipswich. Mrs. Willard opened her seminary at Troy in 1821, and continued in the great service for seventeen years. Catherine Beecher began her work at Hartford in the year 1822, and labored for a decade. Rev. Joseph Emerson, who had been a tutor in Harvard College, was the head of the school in Byfield for six years—from 1818 to 1824. Mary Lyon secured the charter of Mount Holyoke in 1836, and in November, 1837, the seminary was opened. Her service ended with her life, in 1849.

These schools derived their chief value from two sources, sources which, notwithstanding all the worth that is to be credited to equipment and elaborate curriculum, are the most lasting—personality and religion. These two elements were united in the members of the teaching and governing staffs. The personalities which controlled were vigorous, earnest and devoted to their high mission of teaching. Such consecration had its springs in religion.

The name of Joseph Emerson has survived largely by reason of his relation to Mary Lyon. The testimony of Miss Lyon regarding her teacher is evidence at once of the personal character and religious principles of both the teacher and the student. Miss Lyon, in 1821, wrote of the atmosphere of piety which is mingled with all Mr. Emerson's instructions. She declares that from scientific pursuits he draws practical and religious instruction. She says: "Mr. Emerson is very solicitous for our spiritual, as well as temporal, welfare." Not long before her death,

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Miss Lyon declared that she owed more to Mr. Emerson than to any other teacher.[1]

The instruction which Mr. Emerson gave Mary Lyon, both in respect to religious and intellectual training, was bettered in her own character and work. She was abundantly endowed by nature. Her body was robust, and all the powers of her body were well developed. Her mind embodied a similar type of vigor and of proportion. She was fond of abstract truth. She was a moral idealist. Her moral idealism aided in her comprehension, appreciation, and expression of the philosophic principles of education and of life. With the intellectual and ethical idealism was united practical wisdom. She was a good executive. She liked to do things. She herself laid the practical, as well as the scholastic, foundation of her Seminary. She quickened others unto activity. Her words, as well as her personality, inspired to action. Her example aroused strenuous exertions in all her associates.

The central motive and principle in Miss Lyon's character and career was religious. She interpreted duty in terms of religion. She brought every power into the service of man for the glory of God. Upon her tombstone were inscribed the words which she uttered near the close of her career: "There is nothing in the universe that I fear, but that I shall not know all my duty, or shall fail to do it." Her nature was intense. If she lived in herself, she also lived out of herself. She had the keenest sense of her own personal responsibility. This sense, which would have crushed one less strong, was united with a trust in an overruling and beneficent providence.

Through these qualities of heart and of mind, Miss Lyon was able to make a large and distinct contribution to the education of women, and through their education, to human betterment. She trained women who went to all parts of the world as missionaries. Her seminary was in fact a normal school: many of its graduates became teachers in all forms of education. The influence which she exerted during the dozen years of her service was great at the time and has remained.

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[1] "Life of Mary Lyon," pp. 31–35.

The more public career of Mrs. Emma Willard began at an earlier date, lasted almost a score of years longer, and was much broader in its relations, although no higher in its purpose. Mrs. Willard established her seminary at Troy in the year 1821 and continued as its principal until the year 1838. Her conception of education for women embraced not only religious and moral elements, but also literary and domestic, and what she denominates ornamental. In the branches which she calls ornamental she included dancing.[1]

Among the advantages, urged by Mrs. Willard, which would be given to women by their education are such primary values as the development and strengthening of the reasoning powers, leading women to act more from the dictates of reason and less from those of fashion and caprice; an enlarged conception of duty and the securing of stronger and better motives in doing it; the lessening of contempt of useful labor; an enhancement of

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[1] "The grace of motion must be learned chiefly from instruction in dancing, Other advantages besides that of a graceful carriage might be derived from such instruction, if the lessons were judiciously timed. Exercise is needful to the health, and recreation to the cheerfulness and contentment of youth. Female youth could not be allowed to range unrestrained to seek amusement for themselves. If it were entirely prohibited, they would be driven to seek it by stealth, which would lead them to many improprieties of conduct, and would have a pernicious effect upon their general character, by inducing a habit of treading forbidden paths. The alternative that remains is to provide them with proper recreation, which, after the confinement of the day, they might enjoy under the eye of their instructors. Dancing is exactly suited to this purpose, as also to that of exercise; for perhaps in no way can so much healthy exercise be taken in so short a time. It has, besides, this advantage over other amusements, that it affords nothing to excite the bad passions; but, on the contrary, its effects are to soften the mind, to banish its animosities, and to open it to social impressions.

"It may be said that dancing would dissipate the attention and estrange it from study. Balls would doubtless have this effect; but, let dancing be practised every day by youth of the same sex, without change of place, dress, or company, and under the eye of those whom they are accustomed to obey, and it would excite no more emotion than any other exercise or amusement, but in degree, as it is of itself more pleasant. But it must ever be a grateful exercise to youth, as it is one to which Nature herself prompts them at the sound of animating music." "The Life of Emma Willard," pp. 72, 73.

moral and of intellectual pleasures; and a higher appreciation of the value of the mind in the training of children.

To the school at Troy which Mrs. Willard founded came students from all parts of the country. But the value of her life and work was not confined to her service in this school. For more than thirty years after her retirement she was able to labor. She wrote many books—text-books and poems—of which a million copies were printed. She prepared books upon topics as diverse as astronomy, physiology, ethics, history, and education. She published a volume of poems. She was deeply interested in the enrichment and improvement of the public schools. She pursued investigations in physiology. She sought by public address and memorial, as well as by private conference, to avert the great civil conflict of 1861. She was, in a large measure, the representative woman of the generation from 1835 to 1865.

It is not a little significant that near the beginning of the period of enlargement of the higher education and greater opportunity for women stood two women embodying noble and diverse characteristics, movements and methods. The one embodied intensity, and the other largeness. Mary Lyon stood for an interpretation of life which is still denominated puritanism, and Emma Willard for an interpretation optimistic and free. One declared that to do her duty was her great purpose, and the other regarded freedom of development as her great desire for humanity and herself. The one interpreted religion as life, and the other sought to make life religious. One poured all of life into religion and caused its conceptions and principles to become dominant. The other poured all of religion into life, seeking to give to life a symmetry more complete, a nobler sympathy, a finer enrichment, and a higher and holier aspiration.

Each of these two types embodies advantages and disadvantages. Each is subjected to perils. Intensity is in peril of narrowness; liberality and largeness, of vagueness and looseness. Religion may be so impressed on a school or seminary that the eye of the student is fastened rather upon the next world than upon the present. The school of liberal culture, too, is in peril of not offering to itself the inspiration of the education of the

highest ideals and of religious atmospheres. But both Miss Lyon and Miss Willard were largely saved from falling into the evils and weaknesses of their respective methods. Each made a noble contribution to the education of women, important in itself and for the periods of their service, and which also bore the seeds of yet greater development.

At the time of the laying of these foundations on the banks of the Connecticut and the banks of the Hudson, an historic beginning was also being made in the State of Ohio. The institution now known as Oberlin College, chartered in 1834, was the result of the missionary and philanthropic movement of the first decades of the century. The community was not only an academic one, it also represented certain humane and religious purposes and principles. The town and the Institute, as the college was called for about a score of years, were closely allied. One clause of the covenant which the founders made was:

"We will feel that the interests of the Oberlin Institute are identified with ours, and do what we can to extend its influence to our fallen race.'

Perhaps the most important of the contributions which the community offered was the impulse it gave to the education of women. The movement for this education began in a simple way. In the first circular, among the great objects which are noted as embodied in the Institute are the extending the benefits of the most useful education to "both sexes." In the first report of the founders it is said that one object is the "elevation of female character." The method of giving a college education to women and men together was not a primary thought. The primary thought was to give an education to women of the sort which they were fitted to receive. The conditions allowed, or rather necessitated, the giving of the education to both women and to men upon equal terms. The practice had been followed in several academies and it helped to make such an education seem not unnatural. The education of girls was, moreover, promoted by the fact that two of the women who came to Oberlin at the beginning had been trained at the Ipswich school, which had educated Mary Lyon and Zilpah P. Grant. As a result of these general conditions, women came to the institution and came in

relatively large numbers. Nearly forty were enrolled the first year. Into the so-called Female Department were received "young ladies of good minds, unblemished morals, and respectable attainments." Most of those who came were not fitted to pursue college studies. A so-called preparatory department was therefore established. But the college ideal and method soon emerged and enlarged. In 1837 four women presented themselves as fitted for college work. The course opened to them represented largely a system of personal electives: they pursued those studies which they were fitted to pursue. Their classification was more or less irregular. The Oberlin Institute, like the general community, was, with a certain progressive conservatism, feeling its way toward formulating a method for the giving to women the same educational advantages and opportunities which it wished to give to men. At the commencement of 1841, three women received a degree—the first women to receive a degree in Arts in the United States. Though for many years few women completed the course leading to a degree, yet the opportunity was open, and the number who for a time pursued college courses was nearly equal to the number of men. For about a score of years, Oberlin alone received women into its classes on substantially the same terms at it received men.

The life of women who were students at Oberlin in its first generation was plain, earnest, industrious, pervaded and guided by highest ideals. In its material side it possessed most of the elements of a frontier settlement, but in its spiritual and intellectual relations it had many of the highest elements of character. The earnestness of students and teachers helped to atone for the meagerness of the formal intellectual provision. One who lived it and was one of its noblest representatives, Lucy Stone, said:

"Oberlin, at that time, was an experiment station. The results which it reached were significant for the progress not only of women but also of humanity."[1]

[1] Personal letter to the writer, dated Boston, February 2, 1893. "I was a student four years at Oberlin. I never lost a day from ill health. I took the college course with the men and held a fair mark as a student. The same was

At Oberlin coeducation grew as from a seed. Its supporters were not quite conscious of the significance of what they were doing. The beginning and method which prevailed twenty years later at Antioch were different. In his Inaugural Address, Horace Mann took up the question of the education of women with his usual intellectual vigor and moral enthusiasm. He sought to answer objections to what has come to be known as coeducation. He declares that coeducation is the only method to be pursued, for at least many years, on the ground that separate education would nearly double all primary outlays and current expenditures. He believes that a certain degree of social intercourse should exist between those who have ceased to be children but have not yet become men and women. Such intercourse prevents manners from becoming rude and awkward, and sentiments coarse and impure. He believes that the peril of forming undesirable intimacies or attachments is less under academic than under ordinary social conditions. He affirms that the daily meetings of women and men will result in moral restraint and intellectual excitement.

Under such an interpretation and inspiration, Antioch College began and continued its education for women on the same terms as for men.

At least one comprehensive reason may easily be found urging a state university to receive women as well as men which does not exist in the case of a private college. This reason lies in the simple fact that a university supported by public taxation should hold its advantages open and free to all citizens. The experiment tried in Ohio had, to say the least, not wrought harm. The citizens, therefore, of the states which founded universities after the beginning of the sixth decade usually saw fit to admit both women and men on equal terms. In 1856 Iowa—ten years later, Kansas,—in 1868, Minnesota,— and in 1871, Nebraska, established universities for both women and men.

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true of the other girls in college. But nearly every one of us worked. We were poor. We earned our way through college. We did our own cooking (most of the time) and our washing and ironing all the time. Some of the girls paid their way by washing for the male students. It was the work, the exercise that kept us with good muscles and with quiet nerves."

The University of Indiana, opened in 1820, became free to women in the year in which the University of Minnesota was founded. Michigan, Illinois, California, and Missouri opened their universities to women in 1870, and three years after, the University of Ohio at Columbus received them. The following year, Wisconsin adopted a full coeducational policy. At the present time, every state university with the exception of three —Virginia, Georgia, and Louisiana—are as free to women as to men.

The method by which the older parts of the country approached the question of the education of their women was not the method of coeducation. It was easier to provide for the education of girls through the organization of new colleges than to adjust colleges already organized for boys, and whose conditions were established, for the admission of girls. The older communities of New England and the Middle States, in their first endeavors to give a college education to girls, preferred to establish separate colleges.

The founders of four conspicuous colleges for women in the seventh and eighth decades of the nineteenth century were moved by the same purpose. They wished to establish institutions which should give to women an education as good as the older colleges were giving to men. Matthew Vassar said: "It is my hope to be the instrument, in the hands of Providence, of founding and perpetuating an institution which shall accomplish for young women what our colleges are accomplishing for young men."[1]

The pastor of Sophia Smith, and her counselor in the organization of Smith College, said that the four cardinal principles that her college should embody were: "First, the educational advantages given in it would be equal to those afforded young men in their colleges. Second, Biblical study and Christian religious culture would be prominent. Third, the cottage system of buildings, or homes for the students, instead of one mammoth central building, would prevail. Fourth, men would have a part in the government and instruction in it as well as

[1] "Vassar College and Its Founder," by Benson J. Lossing, p. 92.

women, for it is a misfortune for young women or young men to be educated wholly by their own kind."[1]

The founder, Dr. Joseph W. Taylor, of Bryn Mawr College, decided to provide "an institution of learning for the advanced education of women which should afford them all the advantages of a college education which are so freely offered to young men."[2] The standard, therefore, for the education of women was set by the colleges established for the education of men. Their purpose was the purpose of Tennyson, when he sings:

> "O, I wish
> That I were some great Princess: I would build
> Far off from men a college like a man's,
> And I would teach them all that men are taught."[3]

The founders of these four colleges were also alike in the slow fruition of the idea and the purpose of laying a foundation. In the year 1845, at the age of fifty-three, Matthew Vassar, when visiting Guy's Hospital in London, founded by his kinsman, decided to devote a large portion of his own fortune, in his lifetime, to some benevolent purpose. The first form of this purpose was the founding of a hospital. But the purpose took other forms in the course of the following fifteen years. William Chambers, of Edinburgh, in 1858, intimated to him that a safer investment than a college for girls would be a seminary for the blind, the deaf and dumb, or the weak in intellect. It was not until the year 1860 that the plan of establishing a higher institution for women was adopted. This plan was adopted, not only upon general grounds, but also upon grounds in part personal and domestic. Early in the year of 1865, the college was opened for giving instruction.

In the year that Vassar received its act of incorporation, Sophia Smith began to think of the establishment of a college for women. Seven years after she made her will, devoting the bulk of her property to its foundation. The college was incorporated in 1871, and four years after was opened to students.

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[1] "Smith College Quarter Centennial Anniversary," p. 91.

[2] "Education in the United States," by Nicholas Murray Butler, p. 337.

[3] "The Princess."

In the year 1864 Henry H. Durant lost by death an only son. Soon after, he apparently formed a plan of using a part of his estate for some philanthropic work. Later, seeing clearly that the education of the youth of the country was entrusted largely to women, he determined that his purpose should take the form of an institution for their education. In the year 1870 the institution was incorporated as the Wellesley Female Seminary. Three years after, the name was changed to Wellesley College, and in 1877 the college was authorized to grant degrees. Joseph W. Taylor, the founder of Bryn Mawr, finding his offer of marriage declined by the woman he loved, decided to use his property in the building of a college for women. He kept his own counsels. He was in no small degree the administrator of his own estate. He bought land and began the erection of college buildings.

In each of these four institutions, therefore, the purpose of the founder, from its inception to its completion, covered a period of about a score of years.

The purposes which influenced each of these founders were the purposes which Matthew Vassar expressed in the form of a statement read on the 26th of February, 1861. He said:

"It having pleased God that I should have no descendants to inherit my property, it has long been my desire, after suitably providing for those of my kindred who have claims on me, to make such a disposition of my means as should best honor God and benefit my fellow-men. At different periods I have regarded various plans with favor, but these have all been dismissed one after another, until the Subject of Erecting and Endowing a College for the Education of Young Women was presented for my consideration. The novelty, grandeur, and benignity of the idea arrested my attention. The more carefully I examined it, the more strongly it commended itself to my judgment and interested my feelings.

"It occurred to me, that woman, having received from her Creator the same intellectual constitution as man, has the same right as man to intellectual culture and development.

"I considered that the Mothers of a country mold the character of its citizens, determine its institutions, and shape its destiny.

"Next to the influence of the mother, is that of the Female Teachers, who is employed to train young children at a period when impressions are most vivid and lasting.

"It also seemed to me, that if woman were properly educated, some new avenues to useful and honorable employment, in entire harmony with the gentleness and modesty of her sex, might be opened to her.

"It further appeared, there is not in our country, there is not in the world, so far as is known, a single fully endowed institution for the education of women.

"It was also in evidence that, for the last thirty years, the standard of education for the sex has been constantly rising in the United States; and the great, felt, pressing want has been ample endowments, to secure to Female Seminaries the elevated character, the stability and permanency of our best Colleges.

"And now, gentlemen, influenced by these and similar considerations, after devoting my best powers to the study of the subject for a number of years past; after duly weighing the objections against it, and the arguments that preponderate in its favor; and the project having received the warmest commendations of many prominent literary men and practical educators, as well as the universal approval of the public press, I have come to the conclusion that the establishment and endowment of a College for the education of young women is a work which will satisfy my highest aspirations, and will be, under God, a rich blessing to this city and State, to our country and the world."[1]

More than three years after, in June, 1864, at the time when the question of the appointment of professors was discussed by the Board of Trustees, Mr. Vassar said:

"It is my hope—it was my only hope and desire—indeed, it has been the main incentive to all I have already done, or may hereafter do, or hope to do, to inaugurate a new era in the history and life of woman. The attempt you are to aid me in making fails wholly of its point if it be not an advance, and a decided advance. I wish to give one sex all the advantages too long monopolized by the other. Ours is, and is to be, an institution for women—not men. In all its labors, positions, rewards, and hopes, the idea is the development and exposition, and the marshaling to the front and the preferment of women—of their powers on every side, demonstrative of their equality with men—demonstrative, indeed, of such capacities as in certain fixed directions surpass those of men. This, I conceive, may be fully accomplished within the rational limits of true womanliness, and without the slightest hazard to the attractiveness of her character. We are indeed already defeated before we commence, if

[1] "Vassar College and Its Founder," p. 97.

such development be in the least dangerous to the dearest attributes of her sex. We are not the less defeated, if it be hazardous for her to avail herself of her highest educated powers when that point is gained. We are defeated if we start upon the assumption that she has no powers save those she may derive, or imitate, from the other sex. We are defeated if we recognize the idea that she may not, with every propriety, contribute to the world the benefits of matured faculties which education evokes. We are especially defeated if we fail to express, by our acts, our practical belief in her preëminent powers as an instructor of her own sex."[1]

The purpose which influenced Mr. Durant in the founding of Wellesley College was more conspicuously religious than obtained in the case of certain other colleges. Mr. Durant's own type of religion developed an almost ascetic form. In the first days, the college seemed to be, in certain respects, a convent. Self-examination and prayer were a part of the academic routine. He desired especially to educate the daughters of ministers and of missionaries and for the service which their parents had rendered. In other colleges, the religious purpose was not less fundamental, but it was less conspicuous.

In the establishment of these colleges, the leadership, in time at least, belonged to Vassar. The difficult problems which emerge in the education of women appeared with special significance in the beginning of the college at Poughkeepsie. The problems were complex and imperative. Indeed, in the middle of the seventh decade, the kind of an education which a man should receive was beginning to be debated. The physical sciences were coming into the field of education as well as into the field of knowledge. Educational theories were beginning to abound. Opinions were divided. Some believed that the physical strength of women would not allow them to undertake severe study. Education should therefore be ornamental or elementary. Others held that in mind there is no sex; therefore women should receive the same education which men receive. Between these two extremes, others held that as the intellectual nature of woman is akin to that of man, she should receive essentially the same intellectual culture and the opportunity of develop-

[1] "Vassar College and Its Founder," p. 108.

ment. But it was also held that as women were women, intellectual culture and training should be adjusted to their constitution. It was believed that education should be for men human and manly; for women also human and womanly. For both it should be liberal and liberalizing.

It was a happy circumstance that the first great college for women had as its president one nobly fitted to undertake the duties of the great office. A student at Columbia, at Union, and at Hamilton Theological Seminary, a professor at the new University of Rochester and the president of the Brooklyn Polytechnic, John Howard Raymond brought to the office a lengthy and somewhat diverse experience. He had been a trustee of Vassar from the organization of the corporation. His mind was large, comprehensive, judicial. His heart was warm, yet without excess of emotion. He united strength and sweetness. His purposes were of the highest, and untouched by conscious prejudice. He had a capacity for growth. Maria Mitchell said of him that he was not broad when he became president, but the women who were about him made him broad. He felt his way in the new course like a steamer in a fog, and his instinct seldom misled him. His standards of education were of the highest, his interpretations sound. He avoided many pitfalls which were spread before him. The college was made neither a convent nor a huge boarding school; neither an industrial establishment nor a seminary of professional training. It was a college for the liberal education of women.

Dr. Raymond died in the year 1878. His term of thirteen years was shorter by a single year than that of another pioneer —Arnold of Rugby. The impression he made on the people regarding the sanity and desirableness of the higher education for women is to be compared to the influence of the Master of Rugby on the public-school education of England.

The opening of Vassar College was significant in at least two general respects. It proved the poverty and superficiality of the education given in the ordinary school for girls. The examinations for admission made clear that the preliminary education, though high in aim and earnest in effort, was confused, wasteful, and barren. The content of learning was small, the

methods were without discipline, and the result was inefficient. The opening of the college also resulted in the establishment of a system of preparatory education. The mission of Vassar College in its first years was of the highest consequence in impressing the importance of orderliness upon secondary schools. It was made plain that the preparation for college, like the institution itself, was based upon certain principles which were to be followed without regard to the crude opinions of parents or the fancies of students.

In addition to the education of women through coeducation and through separate colleges, the community has, in a few of its older institutions, determined to make use of these institutions for the giving of an education to women. Such a method is a normal result of the desire to promote the efficiency of each educational agency. It also represents the transit of the English tradition. Girton and Newnham at Cambridge, and Sommerville Hall, Lady Margaret Hall, and St. Hugh's Hall at Oxford, represent the origin of coördination and affiliation in American institutions. Girton College had been in existence nine years before the foundation of the Society for the Collegiate Instruction of Women was organized in Cambridge in 1879. This third method is usually known by the name of coordination or affiliation. It represents usually the affiliation of a college for women with a college for men in the same university. These affiliations differ somewhat. Among the more significant of these institutions are: Radcliffe College, affiliated with Harvard, which was opened in the year 1879; Barnard, affiliated with Columbia; the Woman's College of Brown University, of Providence; the College for Women of Western Reserve University, of Cleveland; and the H. Sophia Newcomb College, affiliated with Tulane University, of New Orleans. In certain of these colleges, like Radcliffe, Barnard, and Brown, the larger part of the instruction is given by members of the Faculty of the older college for men. In the College for Women of Western Reserve University, the Faculty is coördinate with the Faculty of the Adelbert College for men in the same University.

Each of these three methods—the coeducational, the separate, and the coördinate—has advantages, and is subject to disadvan-

tages. The discussions of the last years of the seventh and the first years of the eight decade regarding the worthiness or the unworthiness of coeducation and of separate education have largely ceased. It has come to be acknowledged that each method has its own special mission for the community.

After more than a generation of the higher education of women, many questions which were asked at the beginning of the period have either been answered or have ceased to be asked. Many of the perils which were prophesied have ceased to be dangerous, or time has proved that they were no perils at all.

It was at the beginning feared that the physical health of women would suffer. It was thought that the conscientiousness of students would lead to overwork and to worry. It was believed that the endeavor to do men's work with what a woman has called the handicap of sex, that functional disturbances, that the traditional dislike of exercise, combined with hard scholastic labor, might result in physical breakdown. Experience of more than forty years has proved, however, that in case a woman enter college in good health and in case she use ordinary wisdom, she should leave college with health not only unimpaired but made more vigorous. The increasing athletic spirit and a greater wisdom on the part of college authorities in the matter of regulations and of diet have vastly contributed to the increase of health.

The fear was also current that the intellectual capacity of women would depreciate scholarship. It has been proved that, in the coeducational institutions, women maintain a scholastic rank slightly higher than that of men. A higher moral standard, a greater diligence, the refusal to be absorbed in athletic sports, contribute to this result. The result in America of the relatively higher standing of women over men is similar to that proved by the class lists of the honor examinations of Oxford and Cambridge.

It has also become apparent that the great interests of the family have not been made to suffer by reason of the education of women. The college has not diverted women from marriage. Education has, of course, helped to prepare women for many vocations besides matrimony. They have become teachers, phy-

sicians, librarians, secretaries, missionaries, but a larger part have married. Not far from fifty per cent of women who are graduates of American colleges marry.

The following table is significant:

	Grand Total.	Classes Graduated.	Per cent Married.
Oberlin College	1,486	62	61.0
University of Wisconsin	785	37	39.0
University of Michigan	1,186	30	27.6
Boston University	696	26	26.9
University of Minnesota	493	26	26.1
Total Coeducational	4,646	36.2[1]	39.1
Mt. Holyoke graduates	2,614	62	51.5
Vassar	1,986	36	32.4
Wellesley	1,942	23	25.0
Smith	2,177	23	21.1
Total Separate	8,724	36	33.5
Total graduates	13,370		

[1] Average.

To my associate, Dr. George W. Moorehouse, I am indebted for the table. I have also received aid from him in making certain general judgments on this subject.

The significance, however, of this table relates in large measure to the percentage of women who are not graduates who marry. This percentage is extremely difficult to determine. Certain facts are, however, evident. College graduates marry, on the whole, about two years later than those who are not graduates. There is also some reason to believe that a smaller relative number of college women marry than of those who are not college women. If this conclusion be true, there are certain reasons in explanation. A college education increases earning power. Education also enriches the intellectual life. In consequence, a higher ideal of the marriage state is gained. A consequent unwillingness to enter this state is evident. It is also worthy of question whether the women who enter college have not, in advance of their entering, more or less provisionally determined that they are not to marry. Yet, be it said, that the question of matrimony has

probably made no distinct appeal to most girls who are passing their entrance examinations.

The statistics which have been collected seem to prove that a larger proportion of the college women of the western states than of the eastern are married. The reason of this fact is that the drift of population is westward. Men are more mobile than women. As a consequence, women who are married are more mobile than women who are unmarried. Therefore a larger proportion of married graduates are found in the west.

Out of his long and rich experience H. Clarke Seelye, the president of Smith College, bears testimony to the fact that women who "are graduates are better qualified both for wifehood and for motherhood. They are as ready to wed as other women when the right man wooes them; but many causes now lead men in active life to postpone marriage, and the longer it is postponed, the less inclined they are to assume its responsibilities. Women cannot take the initiative and seek a husband, and daughters, in this country at least, are no longer contracted in marriage by their parents.

Marriages of convenience are not made so often by college graduates, for they do not feel obliged to marry in order to escape poverty or dependence, and they marry more frequently educated men who desire congenial companionship. There are accordingly fewer divorces among them. Their children are limited by the same causes which are dominant in the society to which they belong. Excessive mentality may interfere with fecundity, but the fact is, there is very little excessive mentality at present, either in colleges for men or for women."[1]

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[1] "Annual Report of the President of Smith College," 1904–5, p. 12.

CHAPTER XVI

THE COLLEGES IN THE CIVIL WAR

The higher, the larger, the finer the motive, the greater is the appeal which it makes to the heart of the college man. The universities have always been the nurseries of the richest spirit of humanity. In feudal times they were a protest against feudalism, and in modern times and all over the modern world they have embodied the aggressive spirit. Liberty, largeness, humanity, have been the rallying cries of college students. The universities were on the side of the people in the struggles for democracy in France. They fought for national unity in Italy. And at the present time in Russia and in America they represent the spirit not only of enlightened freedom but also of the most serious and exultant endeavor for securing national progress. It was a very moving spectacle which was furnished by the great Fichte in the University of Berlin, of which he was the first rector and in a sense the founder, eager to lead forth his students to repel the invasion by Napoleon in the year 1813; and prevented only by the command of his king.

The nobility of the motive which has characterized the appeal that humanity has made to the universities of the old world in former times received its highest illustration in the great civil war of the United States. The motive appealing to the North and to the South was of the highest character. The North fought for the preservation of the Union, the South for the freedom of its individual States. This war, therefore, made an appeal of tremendous force to the students of the colleges of both the North and the South. To the student in Yale and Harvard and Dartmouth, in Hamilton and in Michigan, the war was a call for the defense of the Union, for the protection of the government, for the freedom of native land. To the student in the Universities of Virginia, of North Carolina, and of Georgia the war was a

call for the upholding of one's own commonwealth and for the honor and peace of one's own fireside. The call was made and the call was heard with all the seriousness of sentiment and depth of feeling which so thoroughly fills the heart of the student while he is in college and in the years immediately following his graduation. The call was for both sides a call of and for life. It was borne to the student in all the glory of death nobly died, in all the glory of the life which might be lived under conditions set for noblest ends. One of these students, graduating at a Northern college at the Commencement of 1862, wrote on a June midnight what hundreds of college men were feeling at that very hour. He wrote:

"One by one the lights went out in the windows, till the buildings were dark about us, as we sat there sad and thoughtful; and then we went silently to our rooms, feeling that soon we were to be scattered and turned adrift in the world, each man to enter the valley alone and fight for himself, —no, not for himself, but for truth, justice, right,—and so for God, as his soldiers." [1]

Another student, who lost his life in the great struggle and who bore the name of Charles Russell Lowell, wrote:

"I cannot say that I take any great *pleasure* in the contemplation of the future. I fancy you feel much as I do about the profitableness of a soldier's life, and would not think of trying it, were it not for a muddled and twisted idea that somehow or other this fight was going to be one in which decent men ought to engage for the sake of *humanity*,—I use the word in its ordinary sense." [2]

Another, too, affirms:

"It is not congenial to my tastes to go to war, but it seems now that all who love their country ought to be willing to take up arms in its defense." [3]

And likewise, another writes:

"For a long time previous to enlisting I had felt it a duty to be doing something to save my country in this terrible war." [4]

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[1] "Harvard Memorial Biographies," pp. 11, 321.
[2] Ibid., i, p. 287. [3] Ibid., ii, p. 352. [4] Ibid., ii, 391.

Another writes to his father in 1862, just as his regiment is leaving Boston for North Carolina:

"I assure you, my dear father, that I know of nothing in the course of my whole life which has caused me such deep and serious thought as this trying crisis in the history of our nation. What is the worth of this man's life or of that man's education, if this great and glorious fabric of our Union, raised with such toil and labor by our forefathers, and transmitted to us in value increased ten-fold, is to be shattered to pieces by traitorous hands, and allowed to fall crumbling into the dust? If our country and our nationality is to perish, better that we should all perish with it, and not survive to see it a laughing stock for all posterity to be pointed at as the unsuccessful trial of republicanism. It seems to me the part of a coward to stay at home and allow others to fight my battles and incur dangers for me. What shame, what mortification would it cause me years hence to be obliged to confess that, in the great struggle for national existence, I stood aloof, an idle spectator, without any peculiar ties to retain me at home, and yet not caring or not daring to do anything in the defense of my country. It was impossible for me to carry on my studies with any degree of interest or of profit to myself. I would read in Tacitus of the destruction and dismemberment of the mighty empire of Rome by internal feuds and civil dissensions, and my mind would be brought to the thought of another nation, equal in magnitude and power to that which issued its decree from the seven-hilled city, which was to be saved from a like fate only by the timely aid and support of every one of its sons. I felt that, if I remained at College, I could derive no benefit whatever while my mind was so entirely interested in another quarter."

And again:

"I have tried as well as I can, and I find that it is but poorly, to give you some idea of my feelings on this subject. I feel well satisfied that I have done what, upon careful deliberation, has seemed to me most in accord with all my duties. I have looked at the matter from every point of view; and if I shall seem to you to have arrived at a wrong conclusion, believe me, it is not from any hasty impulse of the moment, but from the sober dictates of my best judgment. If I have unwittingly made the wrong choice, God forgive me; I did what I thought was for the best." [1]

Be it said that the question of slavery usually had a very small place in the mind of the college student as he thought of

[1] "Harvard Memorial Biographies," ii, pp. 441–443.

the great war in its earlier years. The Northern student usually found himself in favor of the abolition of slavery, and possibly the Southern student gave very small heed to the question of slavery in any form, but each thought of the war and entered the service moved by the highest motives of either patriotism or humanity. One student said that "if slavery should come athwart the mark of the Northern arms, it must come down; if it should become a mark of wisdom or of benefit to the Northern cause to do away with slavery, then of course also it must go down." And this man was not a reformer, and he was very far from being an abolitionist. Another writes:

"I am first for supporting the government and prosecuting the war by every constitutional means, without regard to prejudices of color or race, and with the destruction of slavery in view as an aid in restoring the Union." [1]

It was not love for the negro but love for the nation that fired the Northern student. It was not at all a determination to continue the negro in slavery but the love for his fireside that fired the heart of the Southern student. A graduate of the University of Virginia wrote on June 5, 1861, as follows:

"I leave for Harper's Ferry next Saturday, to take my stand in the ranks of the Southern army. If it had been my good fortune to go there in a different capacity, I should be better satisfied, as it is but natural to wish to excel, and to feel that when we die we shall live in the hearts of our countrymen. But as circumstances have ordered it otherwise, I go freely and willingly in the humble capacity of a private, determined to do, and die, if Providence so wills it, in the sacred and righteous cause of the South, Virginia, and freedom. May God so help me." [2]

This call to the great conflict was made to professors as well as to students. The teachers were stirred quite as strongly as the undergraduates. Professor Gammell of Brown University in a recitation of the Senior Class, alluding to the attack on Fort Sumter, said: "It looks as if our flag there must go down; but,

[1] "Harvard Memorial Biographies," ii, p. 298.

[2] "The University Memorial: Biographical Sketches of Alumni of the University of Virginia who Fell in the Confederate War," p. 261.

gentlemen, if it does go down," he added, " it must go up again, and that, too, at whatever cost." [1]

On Wednesday, April 17th of the year 1861, the Senior Class of Brown University raised the stars and stripes over the University Hall. After the flag had been unfurled and the band played " The Star-Spangled Banner," President Sears, standing on the steps of Manning Hall, delivered a brief address. He said he deprecated civil war. He regretted the necessity which it imposed upon us as a people. But, he continued, the time for deliberation is past. Every man is now called upon to show himself worthy of the country of his birth. It is fitting, then, that to-day the young men who have come to this University to learn—to learn to be patriots he would hope—and who have everything at stake in this crisis, should show that they appreciate the inestimable blessings which they have inherited from a brave and noble ancestry.[2]

Not a few college professors were not content with speeches, but themselves went forth with their students or with recent graduates. Conspicuous among the commanders of the North was Prof. Joshua L. Chamberlain of Bowdoin College. But many teachers who were as eager for the cause as those who went forth at the head of regiments or brigades, stayed at home and by their presence, speeches, and enthusiasm did much for the preservation of the Union and for the promotion of the war. Among them Professor Child of Harvard was eminent. The ballads which Professor Child wrote for the soldiers, although they never came into general use, are still significant. Of his ballad " The Lass of the Pamunky " I quote the last stanza:

"Fair hands! but not too nice or coy
To soothe my pangs with service tender;
Soft eyes! that watched a wasted boy,
All loving, as your land's defender,—
Oh, I was then a wretched shade,
But now I'm strong, and growing chunky;
So Forward! and God bless the maid
That saved my life on the Pamunky!"

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[1] "Brown University in the Civil War: A Memorial," p. 4. [2] Ibid., p. 6.

Of course no one can ever forget the greatest ode ever written in this New World, written by a college professor in memory of college boys who fell.

But the participation of the college officers of the South in the war was far more general than of those of the North, not because the love of commonwealth was greater in the heart of the Southern teacher than was the love of country in the heart of his Northern brother, but because the war made a far deeper and a far more general appeal to the South than it could make in the North. As conspicuous as any teacher in the Southern armies was " Stonewall " Jackson, who, at the time that the war broke out, was a professor in the Virginia Military Institute. What was true of the University of North Carolina, too, was true also in a sense of all the colleges of the South: five teachers of that institution volunteered for the war, and the other nine, with one exception, were either clergymen or too old for the service. Of the five tutors in the University in 1860–61, all entered the army, and four of them fell.[1]

It is not to be denied that a few of the conspicuous teachers and heads of Northern colleges were indifferent, and even opposed, to entering into the war, and were apparently careless as to its issue. Conspicuous in the public eye as men of this

[1] The following record very well represents the force of the argument which the war made to the liberally educated men of the South. "The first of these tutors to seal his faith with his blood was Captain George Burgwyn Johnston, who died at Chapel Hill in 1863, of a decline brought on by prison hardships at Sandusky, Ohio. The next was Lieutenant Iowa Michigan Royster, who fell with the song of Dixie on his lips, while leading his company to the charge at Gettysburg. He was one of eight in the class of 1860 who received first distinction; within four years, four of these filled soldiers' graves. Another of these first honor men, and the youngest, was Captain George Pettigrew Bryan. He was to have entered the ministry; but his country called and he surrendered his young life at Charles City Road in 1864. His promotion as Lieutenant Colonel arrived just after his death. The fourth tutor to fall was Robert W. Anderson, who had been a candidate for Orders in the Episcopal Church. He was a brother of General George Burgwyn Anderson and, like him, offered his sword and his life to his state. He fell at the Wilderness in 1864."—"The University of North Carolina in the Civil War," an address delivered at the Centennial Celebration of that institution in 1895. By Stephen Beauregard Weeks, Ph.D.

reputed character were President Lord of Dartmouth and President Woods of Bowdoin, but it is possible that the people have been unjust to them. In a little book called "The College Cavaliers," which describes a company of soldiers composed mainly of Dartmouth men who entered the Union army in 1862, it is said that President Lord

"counselled the students against enlistment, as did other members of the faculty. But his disposition did not give those who sought his advice the impression that he was opposed to the prosecution of the war. He presented the same view of the student's duty as was given by John Adams, when he counselled Jonathan Mason, a young student in his law office in Boston, to continue at his books, notwithstanding the commotion of the opening Revolution." [1]

It is also said that:

"President Lord thought it would be a very serious detriment to the college, especially to those students who enlisted, to have any considerable number of them detached from their course of study for even so brief a period as three months. In this opinion the members of the faculty concurred. But beyond these counsels no attempt was made to restrain the patriotic ardor of the students." [2]

It was a serious question which the officers of the colleges had presented to them in those early years, respecting the enlistment of their students. A college professor or president could truly say that these young men were entrusted to him for training and for guidance. In young manhood the enthusiasms have and ought to have free play. The motives urging the college boys to enlist were many, urgent, constant, and persistent. The country, too, was in need of the services of trained men. Yet every college officer knew that not a few of the men who were going forth from college walls to martial camp would die. The college officer stands in the place of parents and he also stands, in a sense, as sponsor for the nation's welfare. Serious was the conflict between parental duty and patriotism. Such questions in

[1] "The College Cavaliers: A Sketch of the Service of a Company of College Students in the Union Army in 1862," by S. B. Pettingill, p. 9.

[2] Ibid., p. 10.

many cases the college officer was not obliged to decide, for the students decided them for themselves. And when men had enlisted with at least the consent of their parents, the college officer was the last to interpose academic barriers to their entrance into service.

But, whether the student went forth to war or remained, the war profoundly affected the life of the college student and the college teacher. For the war was an embodiment of illustrations of truth and daring which the college man had been studying for years. More moving than the orations of Demosthenes and more enlightening than the history of Thucydides were the stories of every well-fought field. The speeches of Sumner and the few, ah! too few, addresses of Lincoln meant more than either Roman or Greek orations to the American college man. A graduate of Harvard in the class of 1861 wrote in the first month of 1863:

"The question sometimes comes to me very seriously, especially when the American cause has met with reverses, or when I hear of friends and acquaintances who have laid their lives on the altar of patriotism, whether I ought to be here." [1]

And this feeling was not confined to graduates but on the whole was more prevalent and pervasive among the students, whose life was more free from domestic ties.

In the Southern colleges the influence of the war was far stronger; for the war resulted in the closing of almost every college south of Mason and Dixon's line. A few, remote from the scene of conflict, struggled to continue their work for a year or two, but with ever lessening numbers and diminishing interest on the part of both students and teachers. Battles were fought in or near many college towns. Hardly had the first battle of Bull Run been won by the South before half of the students of the University of Virginia were in the service. Companies were formed in not a few of the colleges to enter the service under the name of the college with which as students the men had been associated. The following facts are representa-

[1] "Harvard Memorial Biographies," vol. ii, p. 209.

tive of many of the colleges of the South: The University of North Carolina in the college year 1859–60 had eighty freshmen; only one remained to complete his course and he was unfit for military service by reason of feeble health. The class of 1860 had eighty-four members, two of whom died in 1860, and of the remaining eighty-two men, eighty entered the service, of whom twenty-three were killed. In 1861 there were few graduates: five members of the faculty had already gone to the war. Conscription, too, presently entered to oblige men to enlist. Studies, quite as truly as laws, are silent in times of war.

Colleges in the North were as a whole not very seriously affected by the war in respect to the number of their students. The freshman classes of certain institutions during 1862–63 were as large as usual. The Freshman classes, for instance, in Brown University, for the four years covered by the war, were respectively 51, 58, 56, and 52; and the total number of students in the same years were respectively 214, 199, 292, and 185. The sympathy between the people and the colleges was warm. The feeling was general that the college is the nursery of patriotism and that the parent was possibly doing as much for his country in sending a boy to college as in sending him to the front. Certain colleges, however, suffered seriously and for a long time. From 1860 to 1864 several colleges showed a steady diminution in the number of their students, in one case the number in attendance in 1864 being only about two-thirds of that in the year 1860. Amherst was sadly depleted. Oberlin diminished from an attendance of 1,313 in 1860 to 859 in 1862. Not only did college men go forth from the colleges to the war but also men who would have entered college were diverted through patriotic motives.

It is also to be said and it will never be forgotten that, when the Northern cause was in its darkest midnight it was resolved by Congress to devote no small share of the public domain for the promotion of the development of the higher education. That act—which bears the name of Senator Morrill of Vermont, passed in 1862 and which resulted directly or indirectly in the foundation of at least a score of universities in the principal states of the middle or the farther West—was passed at a time

when many were questioning whether we should have a country at all worth living for or studying in. This is an event which deserves to be placed side by side with the boldness of the German people in founding the University of Berlin in the depths of their Napoleonic distress.

The effect of the war upon the students in college was a liberal education. It was an education more enlarging and more enriching of the whole character of the man than any college could have given. The war transformed boys into men, and men into men of the manliest type. Responsibilities developed seriousness and seriousness developed maturity. Lads who in their later teens had taken no thought for themselves, being obliged to care for themselves and for others, found stores of undeveloped strength awaiting the call of duty or of necessity. A friend seeing two photographs of a man, the one taken before and the other after his decision to enlist, asked, as he saw the first, "Who is that young gentleman?" and, as he saw the second, "Who is that man next to him?" Of another it was said that "he has played a man's part and lived a man's life." Of a third a teacher wrote:

"I could hardly realize that the noble and beautiful (no other word will do) man before me was the slender boy I had known at school. I do not know how to express the deep and singular impression his face made upon me; an expression pure and almost saintly was blended with that of a true knight and heroic soldier." [1]

Concerning another man, a friend wrote while he was home on a furlough of ten days:

"We found the somewhat slight *physique* which he had a year before changed into a robust and almost perfect form, full of the elasticity and freshness of perfect health and vigor. His character had ripened, too. The light-heartedness of youth seemed to be giving place to the responsible, serious air of manhood, yet his manner was as gentle and affectionate as ever." [2]

Men, too, who graduated in the fifties found that the four years in the field in the seventh decade of the century were

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[1] "Harvard Memorial Biographies," ii, p. 130. [2] Ibid., ii, p. 326.

quite as useful as the four years spent in college in the sixth decade. One of them wrote:

"I wonder if my theories about self-culture, etc., would ever have been modified so much, whether I should ever have seen what a necessary failure they lead to, had it not been for this war. *Now* I feel every day, more and more, that a man has no right to himself at all; that, indeed, he can do nothing useful unless he recognizes this clearly. We were counting over the 'satisfactory' people of our acquaintance the other day, and very few they were. It seems to me that this change in public affairs has entirely changed my standard, and that men whom, ten years ago, I should have accepted as satisfactory now show lamentably deficient. Men do not yet seem to have risen with the occasion; and the perpetual perception of this is uncomfortable. It is painful here to see how sadly personal motives interfere with most of our officers' usefulness. *After* the war how much there will be to do, and how little opportunity a fellow in the field has to prepare himself for the sort of doing that will be required. It makes me quite sad sometimes; but then I reflect that the great secret of *doing*, after all, is in seeing what *is* to be done. I wish I could feel as sure of doing my duty elsewhere as I am of doing it on the field of battle; that is so little of an officer's and patriot's duty now." [1]

And the same man at another time, writing to a friend, said:

"*Don't* grow rich; if you once begin, you will find it much more difficult to be a useful citizen. Don't seek office, but don't 'disremember' that the useful citizen always holds his time, his troubles, his money, and his life ready at the *hint* of his country. The useful citizen is a mighty unpretending hero; but we are not going to have any country very long, unless such heroism is developed!" [2]

The number of graduates and the number of students who entered the Northern army it is impossible to learn exactly, but the facts as to the numbers that certain colleges furnished are not difficult to secure. In general it is to be said that of the New England colleges, twenty-three per cent of their graduates entered the army. The number furnished by different colleges is significant.

In Colby out of four hundred graduates and undergraduates

[1] "Harvard Memorial Biographies," i, pp. 292, 293.
[2] Ibid., i, p. 300.

who were subject to military duty at the close of the war a hundred and forty-two actually entered the service of their country; that is, more than one-third of its graduates or students were under arms, the most conspicuous graduate being General Benjamin F. Butler.

Bowdoin College sent two hundred and sixty-seven men to the war, among whom were General Oliver O. Howard and General Joshua L. Chamberlain.

Dartmouth College sent four hundred and sixty-four men from the Academic departments and a hundred and forty-eight from the Medical College. Of the four hundred and sixty-four, two hundred and ninety-two held commissioned offices; and of the hundred and forty-eight medical students, all but nineteen held commissioned offices, nearly all being surgeons or assistant surgeons.

At the time of the war Williams College had a thousand four hundred and forty-six living graduates, of whom three hundred and eight entered the Northern army, among them being three Major Generals, twelve Brigadier Generals, and thirty-seven Colonels and Lieutenant Colonels.

The University of Vermont furnished a hundred and forty graduates and twenty-eight students, although the whole number of students at that time was only sixty-five. Of the seventeen members of the Senior class of 1863, six entered the service; of the class of 1864, eleven out of the twenty-two members; and of the class of 1865 eight out of sixteen members.

Harvard College furnished about twelve hundred of its students and graduates from all departments to the great war. The number from each of the classes of the College itself is as follows: Class of 1825, 1; 1827, 1; 1828, 2; 1829, 1; 1832, 2; 1833, 1; 1834, 1; 1835, 2; 1837, 4; 1838, 5; 1839, 3; 1840, 5; 1841, 5; 1842, 3; 1843, 8; 1844, 6; 1845, 9; 1846, 6; 1847, 7; 1848, 8; 1849, 7; 1850, 9; 1851, 14; 1852, 23; 1853, 16; 1854, 19; 1855, 22; 1856, 32; 1857, 24; 1858, 32; 1859, 36; 1860, 56; 1861, 54; 1862, 38; 1863, 49; 1864, 41; 1865, 18; 1866, 8; 1867, 10; and 1868, 1.

The record of Amherst College shows that 195 graduates and 78 undergraduates entered the service. Among the graduates

were 6 who had been tutors in the college, 2 of whom laid down their lives. About 39 per cent of all these men enlisted as privates but of these 35 were chaplains and there were 30 or more who served as surgeons. Among the number, 3 were brigadier generals, 9 were colonels, 12 lieutenant colonels, 9 were majors, 25 captains, 17 first lieutenants, 17 also second lieutenants, and 19 were sergeants. It is probable that there has never been a war fought in which so large a proportion of the officers were men of liberal training. As was found to be true in most colleges, those classes which graduated at Amherst about the time of the war furnished the larger part of the number who enlisted. For there were 30 of the class of 1862 and 20 each of the classes of 1861 and 1863; 15 went from the class of 1864 and 21 from the class of 1865. The class of 1865 lost the largest number, for 6 men died in the service, 4 as a result of wounds received on the field of battle. Four men of the class of 1864 did not live to return, 3 of them being killed in battle. Two of the professors went from the classroom into the service, and of the 3 sons of Professor Adams who enlisted 2 lost their lives.

Columbia College contributed for its quota 395 men, as follows: 1824, 1; 1826, 1; 1827, 2; 1828, 1; 1833, 1; 1834, 1; 1838, 3; 1839, 1; 1840, 3; 1841, 4; 1842, 6; 1843, 1; 1844, 1; 1845, 1; 1846, 1; 1847, 1; 1848, 4; 1849, 4; 1850, 2; 1851, 5; 1852, 6; 1854, 6; 1855, 5; 1856, 12; 1857, 6; 1860, 42; 1861, 57; 1862, 50; 1863, 38; 1864, 36; 1865, 25; 1866, 23; 1867, 13; 1868, 9; 1869, 6; 1870, 1; 1872, 1; 1874, 2; 1880, 1.

Wesleyan University at Middletown furnished 279 graduates or undergraduates to the service, which number represents about eleven per cent of all the graduates living at the beginning of the war and thirty per cent of all who were connected with the institution during the war. Of these the Wesleyan University Guards, Company G of the Fourth (afterwards the First) Connecticut Artillery, was composed of students, and drilled on the College campus.

A Union College professor drilled a company of the students and went with them to the war, the professor and many of his men never returning. Nearly fifty per cent of the students of Union

at that time were Southern men, many of whom left for service in the Confederate army.

Rutgers also furnished men as follows: From the classes of 1829, 1834, 1835, 1838, 1839, 1840, and 1844, one each; class of 1847, 2; 1848, 3; 1849, 4; 1850, 1; 1851, 3; 1852, 1; 1853, 2; 1854, 3; 1855, 4; 1856, 7; 1857, 2; 1858, 3; 1859, 3; 1860, 2; 1861, 2; 1862, 6; 1863, 2; 1864, 7; 1865, 4; and one each from 1866 and 1868, making a total of 70.

Princeton's roll of honor shows a hundred and fifty names of men in the service of the United States, and it includes four Major Generals (Boyle, Blair, Belknap, and Van Cleve), a Brigadier General, three Colonels and four Lieutenant Colonels. About twenty-five of the hundred and fifty men died in the service.

Yale, beginning with the class of 1804 in a chaplaincy, was represented through the greater number of its classes of the next sixty years. The sons of Yale fell on every battlefield from New Orleans to Gettysburg. Of her graduates, four hundred and ninety-four of the academic department (six hundred and seven of all departments) entered the Northern service. Of those who were not graduates a hundred and ninety-three of the academic department also entered the army. Including graduates and undergraduates no less than eight hundred and thirty-six enlisted, of whom at least a hundred died in the service or as the direct result of the service.

Lafayette College sent no less than two hundred and twenty-six graduates and undergraduates to the war.

Western Reserve College—at Hudson, Ohio, and since removed to Cleveland and enlarged into Western Reserve University—practically closed its doors for the time, and nearly all its students entered the service, and had as their officers Prof. Charles A. Young and the late Dr. Carroll Cutler.

The war record of Colgate, formerly Madison University, shows that at least 110 men entered the service.

Of the graduates and undergraduates of Oberlin College it is estimated that not less than 850 served at least for a time in the army. Of these one in ten never returned.

Michigan also furnished about eight hundred of her grad-

uates or undergraduates, and the enthusiasm in favor of the war on the part of certain of the professors was very great.

But it is needless to pursue the roll of the colleges of the North. The enlistments among the graduates and the students of the colleges of the South was yet more impressive. If twenty-three per cent of the graduates and the students of the Northern Colleges entered the service, the percentage of Southern students who entered the service was very much greater, as the significance of the war was greater to the South than it was to the North. The Chaplain General of the United Confederate Veterans, the Rev. J. William Jones, writes in a personal letter that the first time he saw the famous Rockbridge Artillery it contained as private soldiers seven Masters of Arts of the University of Virginia, twenty-seven graduates of other colleges, and twenty-four theological students.

I have been able to learn of but one Southern college whose work was not either seriously interrupted or entirely suspended during the war. This one college was Guilford College in North Carolina, an institution under the charge of the Society of Friends. The funds of the institution were largely invested in Philadelphia and did not suffer that impairment or absolute destruction which the endowment of most institutions suffered. Nearly every Southern college suspended all exercises during the war; in certain cases the sites of the colleges represented the field of action, and their buildings were occupied and reoccupied in turn by both armies. No college, possibly, suffered more than William and Mary at Williamsburg. Its buildings were so damaged or destroyed that, after a long delay, Congress in 1893 voted the institution $64,000. The buildings, also, of the University of Alabama were destroyed by the Federal troops in April, 1865. Congress, some twenty years later, made restitution for the injury thus wrought by the gift of an additional land grant, and through the proceeds additional buildings have been erected and new equipment has been supplied.

The endowment of nearly all the state and private and denominational colleges was almost invariably invested in securities which had their basis in the property of the Confederate States, and these securities usually became worthless. These

securities were largely the bonds of railroads or the stock of banks, and the destruction of such property was quite absolute.

The simple narration of the facts regarding the students who enlisted is moving.

One hundred and ninety-eight students of the University of Virginia were killed defending their State, and of the students in the Virginia Military Institute no less than a hundred and seventy-one were reported as killed. In the University of North Carolina three hundred and twelve of the students and graduates lost their lives in the great contest, and about forty per cent of the enrollment of the University for the preceding forty years served in the Confederate army. Out of thirteen hundred and thirty-one matriculates in the ten years before the war, seven hundred and fifty-nine, or fifty-six and two-thirds per cent, enlisted, and of this number two hundred and thirty-six, or thirty per cent, sealed their faith with their blood. And, be it said, the sacrifice which the graduates and students of the University of North Carolina made was of the sort that nearly every college of the South willingly offered.

Of the students and graduates of the University of Mississippi, about ninety per cent of those living at the outbreak of the war entered the Confederate service. In the spring of 1861 a strong company,—the University Greys,—was organized composed of students, and it was soon formally enlisted. The spring term of the year 1861 closed prematurely, and the entire work of the university was suspended till the fall of 1865. Nearly one-half of those who entered the service died and almost every survivor bore the marks of wounds.

About three-quarters of the graduates of Emory College of Georgia entered the Confederate service. General Edward L. Thomas was a member of the class of 1846; General James P. Simms of the class of 1855; General James S. Izlar also of the class of 1855; General Reuben W. Carswell of the class of 1856. Colonel L. Q. C. Lamar, subsequently Senator and Secretary of the Interior, was a colonel in the army and was graduated in the class of 1845. His classmates, Colonel Robert G. Harper and Thomas Hardeman, commanded regiments in the Confederate army, as did also Colonel Henry R. Harris, Colonel James

C. Longstreet and Colonel C. A. Mitchell of other classes. Captain James M. Pace, of the class of 1854, was a member of the staff of General John B. Gordon, and Homer Emmett Dixon was secretary of the Confederate Senate.

In Davidson College, North Carolina, as in most of the Southern colleges, nearly all the graduates living at the outbreak of the war entered the service of the Confederate States excepting such as were disqualified by professional or personal reasons. Of the professors, Lieutenant General Harvey Hill served through the war; Fishbirn served as a private in the Rockbridge Artillery and then as First Lieutenant of Ordnance; Leland was first Captain, then Major; Kerr was assigned to service as chemist and superintendent of the Mecklenberg Salt Works, at Charleston; Barringer was Major, and no less than seven other members of the small Faculty enlisted. The statement indicates the extent to which the educated men of the South were swept into the Confederate States Army. The first president of this College, Robert Hall Morrison, although too frail to serve in the army himself, had four sons-in-law who rendered distinguished service.

One should not neglect to say that not a few of the graduates of Northern colleges were found in the service of the Confederacy. These were men whose homes were in the South. Coming to Northern colleges from their Southern homes, they returned to the South after graduation and affiliated themselves with the interests of their states. Perhaps the one Northern College which was most vitally and deeply affected by the war was Princeton, for Princeton, previous to the war, had been very popular throughout the South. Secession sentiments were strong in Princeton in February, March, and April, 1861, and rumors are still current of a rebellion that was made by some students in an attempt to raise the Stars and Stripes over one of the college buildings. Of one of the classes of Princeton graduating near the outbreak of the war it is said that thirteen entered the Federal service and twelve the Confederate.

A diligent search of the class records of Harvard College gives the following record of those who entered the Southern army: One man each from the classes of 1833, 1834, 1835, 1839, 1840,

1841; three from 1837; nine from 1854; one from 1855; four from 1856; seven from 1857; four from 1858; three from 1859; eight from 1860; five from 1861; one from 1862; four from 1863; and five from 1865; making a total of sixty men.

Among the graduates of Yale who held high place in the Confederate service were: Lieutenant General Richard Taylor (only son of President Zachary Taylor); George E. Badger, Senator from North Carolina and Secretary of the Navy; Judge A. B. Longstreet, uncle of the general of the same name; Allen T. Caperton, Confederate Senator; Frederick W. M. Holliday, who became governor of Virginia in 1877; Colonel William Preston Johnston, aid-de-camp to Jefferson Davis; and Prof. Elisha Mitchell of North Carolina. About forty graduates also entered the service in the field. From the class of 1813 came one, and one also from the classes of 1814, 1816, 1820, and 1832, with two from the class of 1841; the class of 1845 sent seven men; 1847, two; 1849, four; 1851, one; 1852, three; 1853, five; 1854, four; 1856, one, as did also the classes of 1857 and 1859. The list does not include students of partial courses, as there seems to have been but few Southern students after 1856.

For three decades previous to the beginning of the war, Southern colleges and schools had secured not a few of their best teachers from the colleges of the North. Many of those who had thus become residents of the South returned to their homes. Others remained in the land of their adoption and fought with their fellow-citizens. Among those who went to the North were Prof. William F. Stearns, Prof. E. C. Boynton, Prof. Henry Whitehorne, and Prof. William Moore, who had been associated with the University of Mississippi. Prof. F. A. P. Barnard, also, who had held positions in the educational institutions of the South and rendered exceedingly able service, went north at the outbreak of the war.

At least three colleges of the North have erected memorials to their sons who fell in the great war, Harvard, Bowdoin, and Colby. The most conspicuous is of course Memorial Hall at Cambridge. In the college church at Amherst is a chime of bells which is designed to be of a memorial character. Beyond one or two colleges of the South no very special recognition has been

made of the heroes who fell fighting for their fatherland. The University of North Carolina, however, has been able to erect a chapel which is of special value as indicating the preëminence of its graduates in the Confederate service. Its walls are covered with memorial tablets.

No class of men in either the War with Spain or the Civil War was so eager to enter the service as the students of the American colleges. The difficulty was not that they were not eager to enter, but how to restrain them from entering. It is also proved that when these men had entered the service no one was more diligent in doing the duties of camp or more faithful in the humdrum of discipline, and certainly none more brave on the field of strife, than the American college man. Professor Diman, speaking at the dedication of a Memorial Tablet of Brown University, said:

"Such exclusive devotion, it has been claimed, to abstract studies, but poorly fits the understanding to deal with practical concerns; such prolonged contact with the past is ill adapted to awaken sympathy with the living present. Thus we purchase a puny intellectualism at the price of those manly qualities which are the conditions of all real success. How far these reproaches were well founded let the experience of this, and of kindred institutions, show. When the call of the President revealed the public peril, who sprang to arms? Where all professions, all ranks, all conditions showed such alacrity, it might seem invidious to claim special praise for any single class; but let it never be forgotten that among those who hurried earliest to the strife, in those shameful days when one and another of the men who had been trained at West Point was proving faithless to his trust, was a large proportion of the students of our colleges; a proportion, in some instances, so large as seriously to interfere with the routine of academic duties. It is safe to affirm that no one class of the American people was represented in so liberal a ratio as the very class whose training had been decried as tending to keep them at a distance from the questions of the day. And in this respect our experience has been the experience of those before us. In that matchless eulogy which Pericles pronounced at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, he proudly claimed that Athens had lost nothing in the cultivation of those arts to which she owed her highest fame; and we too, looking back on our record, remembering the readiness with which so many of our educated youth made sacrifice of the hopes of years, recognizing the conspicu-

ous ability so often shown in the novel and arduous positions to which they were summoned, bewailing, alas, what may not even now be mentioned without renewing in the hearts of some here present, a grief too sacred and too recent to be disturbed, may repeat with added emphasis the words of the great Athenian orator, 'We have not been enfeebled by Philosophy.'" [1]

A soldier, writing from the field of conflict, says, speaking of one who had won renown as a member of the crew:

"All unite in praising his gallant conduct on the field of battle, and old Harvard has good reason to be proud of the courage and ability shown by her representatives." [2]

Robert Shaw wrote after the battle of Cedar Mountain:

"All our officers behaved nobly. Those who ought to have stayed away didn't. It was splendid to see those sick fellows walk straight up into the shower of bullets as if it were so much rain; men who, until this year, had lived lives of perfect ease and luxury." [3]

Another soldier said: "We are in for the war though it lasts twenty years." A Brigadier General, writing of a college man who fell, says:

"I was pleased with him at once, and can say that in all my experience I never saw a new and young officer take hold of his work so well. In my own mind I selected him at once for the place which I afterwards asked him to accept. He became eminently popular in this brigade; and not until after I had lost him did I fully realize of how much actual service he was to myself and to my command. Let me offer to yourself and family my deep feeling of sympathy in this loss to ourselves and to our country." [4]

The lesson, therefore, to be derived from this survey is the general lesson of the patriotism of the American college. In the Revolutionary War the American colleges were on the side of the colonists. The most distinguished college president at that time was one of the great defenders of the young nation's interests: Witherspoon of Princeton. College dormitories were

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[1] "Brown University in the Civil War," pp. 322, 323.
[2] "Harvard Memorial Biographies," i, p. 338.
[3] Ibid., i, p. 355.
[4] Ibid., vol. ii, p. 449.

often turned into camps for the soldiers. Washington took command of the American forces underneath a tree within hailing distance of Harvard's halls. The same love for country was more largely manifested in the Civil War. There is no antagonism between culture and patriotism. Thus believing, the college student adds to patriotism a divine—and the largest human—relationships and he enforces his allegiance to the right by the warmth of his love for his country. Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson, in the Preface to his Memorial Biographies, says:

"There is no class of men in this republic from whom the response of patriotism comes more promptly and surely than from its most highly educated class. All those delusions which pass current in Europe, dating back to De Tocqueville, in regard to some supposed torpor or alienation prevailing among cultivated Americans, should be swept away forever by this one book. The lives here narrated undoubtedly represent on the whole those classes, favored in worldly fortune, which would elsewhere form an aristocracy—with only an admixture, such as all aristocracies now show, of what are called self-made men. It is surprising to notice how large is the proportion of Puritan and Revolutionary descent. Yet these young men threw themselves promptly and heartily into the war; and that not in recklessness or bravado—not merely won by the dazzle of a uniform, or allured by the charm of personal power, or controlled even by 'that last infirmity,' ambition—but evidently governed, above all things else, by solid conviction and the absolute law of conscience. To have established incontestably this one point, is worth the costly sacrifice which completed the demonstration."[1]

The American college is the nursery of patriotism. It sprang out of the devotion of self-sacrificing founders to the interests of the commonwealth, and it, in turn, has done much to minister to the highest being of the commonwealth and of humanity. It was a college professor, speaking to a college audience upon a college occasion, who sang of our country:

"What were our lives without thee?
What all our lives to save thee?
We reck not what we gave thee;
We will not dare to doubt thee,
But ask whatever else, and we will dare!"

[1] "Harvard Memorial Biographies," i, p. v.

CHAPTER XVII

UNDERGRADUATE AFFAIRS AND UNDERTAKINGS

The development of undergraduate interests has become great in the last one hundred years. The development belongs both to the individual college and also to the association of colleges. The individual academic development has promoted the development of the intercollegiate system, and the intercollegiate system the interests of the individual college.

The most significant, and among the earliest forms of the development of undergraduate life, was what is now usually known as the society system. The students of the American college came as a body into a sense of self-consciousness at the time the nation was coming to itself. The debates which preceded, accompanied, and followed the struggle for political independence belonged quite as much to the college as to the people.[1] The society system had apparently its birth in the oratorical instinct —an instinct which was strong in the college man of the Revolutionary period. The " Speaking Club " of Harvard College, organized in the year 1771, was among the earliest of such organizations. Among its members were John Quincy Adams, Rufus King, and Christopher Gore. Other clubs followed. The debates in such organizations were at once academic and public. " The pernicious habit of drinking tea "—a subject discussed in one of the meetings of one of the first years of the eighth decade, indicates that public concerns had invaded the academic yard.

The spirit from which such debates sprang, and the debates themselves, helped to form the most important associations of students. Strong societies for debate were established in all colleges.

The interest in these societies, established in the last decades

[1] "Harvard Book," vol. ii, p. 341.

of the eighteenth and the first decades of the nineteenth century, was intense. A graduate of Amherst, writing of the societies of that College in the four years from 1827 to 1831, says:

"Each student at that time became earnestly enlisted as champion for the preëminence of his own society. The literary societies were the chief centers of interest outside of the regular exercises of the college. Each had its own *esprit de corps* very distinct and well understood. We eagerly anticipated the weekly meetings of the old Athenian Society, and prepared ourselves for its exercises with diligence. Nearly all the members attended regularly, filling up a recitation room of the Chapel. Debates, Orations, Poems, and the 'Anonymous department' constituted our principal exercises—which were *always* performed with life and vigor." [1]

These societies were concerned with other interests than the training of members in debates. They collected libraries. The Linonia library of Yale had, in the year 1770, nearly one hundred volumes, which increased by gradual increment until in 1846 it had more than ten thousand. The Brothers Society had, in 1781, one hundred and sixty-three books; in 1835, more than four thousand; and in 1846, more than nine thousand.[2] The societies also promoted the undergraduate undertakings. The forum which each presented was an exceedingly free one for action as well as for debate. These societies for almost one hundred years promoted unity of spirit among the members, as well as loyalty to the College.

With the decline of political interest and excitement on the part of the community, these organizations suffered also a decline. As the life of the community became more complex, undergraduate interests increased also in number and elaborateness. The attention of students became divided among many causes. The increasing refinement of the community, both general and academic, lessened the attention paid to the more strenuous forms of public speech; and academic public speaking is usually and naturally rather strenuous. The college authorities so recognized the importance of writing good English that they felt

[1] "Student Life at Amherst," by George R. Cutting, pp. 21, 22.
[2] "Four Years at Yale," p. 208.

obliged formally to accept the responsibility of its teaching. The college also, in many instances, took upon itself the training of men in public speaking. The students' papers presently, too, became a means for the expressing of undergraduate sentiment. The number of college students was also enlarging, and the increasing sense of camaraderie contributed to the beginning of the fraternity system. The consequent growth of this system in turn contributed to the decline of the system of open societies. The fifth decade of the last century saw the dissolution of many of these associations. With them passed away a form of undergraduate life which the older men believed was of unique worth.

Out of this system grew what is known as the fraternity. The term fraternity is usually applied to an organization intercollegiate, having chapters or lodges in several colleges. Its name is also embodied, as a rule, in certain Greek letters, which not unusually stand for some sentiment expressive of the purpose of the organization. The first of such societies was the Phi Beta Kappa. Phi Beta Kappa was founded at William and Mary in the year 1776. It arose in the common friendship of its founders. Its purpose was patriotic and literary, and its meetings, on the whole, were of a literary character. The society spread, in the remaining years of the century, to three colleges: Yale, Harvard, and Dartmouth. In the first half of the nineteenth century seven more chapters were established, and in the second half thirty-nine, covering states from Maine to California.

In the year 1821—almost fifty years after the first chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa was founded at William and Mary—was organized a fraternity at Yale called Chi Delta Theta. Its membership was limited to the Senior class. In the years 1825 and 1827 were organized at Union College three fraternities which have since become known as the Union Triad. They were the Kappa Alpha, the Sigma Phi, and the Delta Phi. These three societies may be called the foundation of the present system. The Sigma Phi was the first to establish a branch chapter, which it did in the year 1831 at the neighboring college of Hamilton. At Hamilton also, in the year 1832, was formed the first chapter of the Alpha Delta Phi. Union College and Hamilton are more directly and immediately associated with the beginning of the

fraternity system than any other college. In the year 1844, the first chapter of the Delta Kappa Epsilon was established at Yale, and branch chapters were presently formed in other colleges. The beginning thus made with the establishment of a few chapters of leading fraternities has proved to be significant. Each leading fraternity has grown and many fraternities which are not large have arisen, of which many have perished, but of which, also, many continue unto this day.

This system has become an integral part of college life. At the present time there are about thirty fraternities of national significance, which, in their entire membership, represent about two hundred thousand members. These fraternities have about one thousand chapters. As I have intimated, the history of fraternities is in part a history of organizations which have disbanded. The fraternities of a national character, having at present one thousand chapters, are linked with a history representing the death of about four hundred chapters.

The wide extent through which these fraternities are organized is set forth in the fact that the Alpha Delta Phi has chapters in twelve states, the Alpha Tau Omega in seventeen, the Beta Theta Pi in twenty-eight, the Chi Phi in twelve, the Chi Psi in thirteen, the Delta Kappa Epsilon and Delta Tau Delta in twenty each, the Kappa Sigma and Sigma Alpha Epsilon in twenty-three each, Sigma Chi in twenty-two, and the Phi Delta Theta in twenty-eight.

The fraternity system has thus secured a large place in undergraduate life and sentiment. It represents one of the most important undertakings of the students. Each chapter has usually been more or less of a secret nature, although this element of secrecy plays a less important part with each passing decade. These organizations have become largely social, membership in them being based on the same elements which, under all conditions, make people agreeable to one another and which unite them together. The various chapters usually own or lease the houses they occupy. These houses are essentially club houses. The life is the life of a club. The life is simple or elaborate, according as the members determine. In certain cases, the houses are expensive, costing fifty thousand dollars or more;

in others, they are leased at forty dollars a month. In respect to the general collegiate condition, they may be called cross-sections in the academic life. The classes from Freshman to Senior are a series of successive and coördinate communities. The fraternity cuts into all these classes, and at one and the same time enrolls new men and forthcoming graduates.

The fraternities have been received, in the last three-quarters of a century, both by the general community and by the academic, with diverse sentiments. They have been warmly commended, and quite as warmly opposed. They have been attacked upon social, personal, and legal grounds. Attempts have been made in California and Indiana to forbid their formation in the state universities. The supreme courts of these commonwealths have decided against such attempts, on the ground that the proposed prohibition is unconstitutional, discriminating against a class of citizens. In the anti-masonic agitation of the middle of the century fraternities suffered in common with all secret associations. They were opposed on the ground of being undemocratic, as promoting college politics, as selfish, as narrowing the ideas of members, as expensive, and as emphasizing social rather than scholastic conditions. Of them President McCosh, of Princeton, has said:

"They foster in youth, when character is forming, a habit of underhand action and underhand procedure which is apt to go through life. It should be one of our aims to rear open and manly character. There is always a tendency in these secret organizations to meddle with college management, to check certain plans of the college authorities, and influence elections to college honours. They often tempt young men to drink and dissipation. Nearly every professor acknowledges them to be an evil, but is afraid of them." [1]

Fraternities have been commended quite as enthusiastically as they have been condemned. The principle of the advantage of union and of close fellowship has been the chief ground of commendation. College faculties have not infrequently worked with their members in carrying forward the proper government of the

[1] "Student Life and Customs," Sheldon, pp. 186, 187.

students. A beloved and efficient professor of Amherst College, Prof. W. S. Tyler, says:

"A band of brothers feeling a lively interest in the reputation of their chapter and in the character and conduct of all its members, by their social gatherings, their literary exercises, their mutual personal influence, and above all by the watch and care of the older and wiser over the younger, less mature, and perhaps less studious members, they guard the morals, correct the faults, stimulate the ambition, cultivate the manners and the taste, elevate the scholarship—in a word form the character and fashion the life of the membership, and thus contribute no unimportant element to the order, decorum, scholarship, and culture of the whole college. In fact, they act an important part in that system of self-government and training for the duties of citizenship in a free country in which Amherst is taking the lead among American colleges." [1]

Any attempt to suppress such societies would probably prove to be unavailing, for they have secured a large place in the hearts of graduates. It would not be difficult for boards of Trustees and Faculties to suppress them if only the students were to be dealt with. But a great body of alumni far outnumbering the immediate undergraduate membership would strongly oppose any such abolition.

In the earlier period of the history of the American college, the interpretation of the religious interests did not belong to the field of undergraduate activities and conditions, for the college was primarily a theological school. Most students became clergymen. Personal piety was even a matter of official enforcement. Among the first "laws, liberties, and orders" of Harvard College was the requirement that everyone should consider the main end of his life and studies to know God and Jesus Christ. Prayer in secret and the reading of the Scriptures twice a day were also commanded.

From such a period, necessarily working its own failure, the colleges passed into a stage in which the religion of the students became primarily a matter of their own concern. Piety was regarded as a matter of individual liberty. The official boards, however, were not indifferent to the religious affairs of

[1] "A History of Amherst College," by W. S. Tyler, p. 263.

the students. From the period of the beginning of the Revolutionary War, the students came to enjoy great liberty in matters of religion. The condition of the colonies was reflected in the colleges and reflected in their religious as well as in other conditions. It was a time of universal independence. This independence showed itself in two ways as regards religion. On one side independence became infidelity, and on the other side, a greater assurance of belief. In the former relation, the French influence was dominant. In the year 1785 only fifteen per cent of the students of the colleges called themselves Christians; ten years later the percentage had fallen to ten, and in the year 1799 it had fallen still lower, to five. In the next year, however, a rise occurred to eight, which increased to ten in the year 1810, and had doubled to twenty in the year 1820.

But the freedom of the students in matters of religion, which on the one side showed itself in infidelity, on the other was manifest in rigorous piety. In the year 1797 there was founded in Yale College what has been called the Moral Society. Each member was compelled to give his assent to these four questions:

"(1) Will you endeavor to regulate your conduct by the rules of morality contained in the Bible?

"(2) Will you endeavor by all prudent means to suppress vice and promote the interests of morality in this Seminary?

"(3) Will you as long as you continue a member of this society wholly refrain from every kind of profane language?

"(4) Will you never be guilty of playing any game in which property is concerned: and will you also refrain entirely from playing cards whilst you continue a member of this society?"[1]

This Society represented a noble type of undergraduate activity.

From the beginning of the last century until its close, the interest of the students in religion has increased in intensity as well as in sanity. In the earlier part of the period, this interest was indicated in individual organizations, such as the Society of Christian Brethren at Harvard, and in the latter part, in what is known as the Young Men's Christian Association. The rise

[1] "Two Centuries of Christian Activity at Yale," p. 58.

of this form of activity in the community has deeply influenced the colleges. In practically every college is found such an association. The membership is not far from fifty thousand. The unity of these associations in the colleges has promoted the development of each individual organization.

The change in the type of individual piety prevailing in the college has been quite as marked as the change in the relation which the officers of a college bear to the development of its religious concerns. The religion of the college student has become less introspective, less emotional, and less inclined to express itself in formal speech. It has, however, gained in willingness to declare itself in Christian service. Missions are carried on, by either individual colleges or by a combination of colleges, in India, China, and other parts. The conception of Christian truth has gained in simplicity. The emphasis placed on the moral virtues has increased. Skepticism has ceased to relate itself to certain doctrines and has, so far as it exists, come to concern itself with fundamental verities. It has passed over from being Christian to being philosophic.

In the development of the American college, a change in religion has occurred similar to that which has occurred at Oxford. A great churchman has said: "The plain truth is that henceforth Oxford will belong to the Church of England just as much and just as little as does the House of Commons. It is still a center of social and intellectual interests; but as a center of religious force it is no longer what it was, and is unlikely in its future to be what it still is."[1] The Christianity has become less formal and more human; it has lost intensity and it has gained in breadth; it has become less unique and has taken upon itself certain characteristics of the great forces of nature.

An interest of the undergraduates which approaches in importance, in certain respects, the society and the fraternity system, is the athletic. The rise of this form of academic activity is contemporaneous with its progress in the general community. The interest of the community in athletic sports has

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[1] "Life and Letters of Henry Parry Liddon," by the Rev. J. O. Johnston, M.A., p. 254.

quickened the academic activity, and indeed the interest of the community in this form of academic activity is more manifest and insistent than in any other form. The newspaper press is both the symbol and the cause of no small share of this interest.

The regard paid by the American community to athletic sports followed, by a brief interval, the beginning and the progress of the European interest. The interest had its origin, in both cases, in the desire for a more complete physical training. Physical training, from the Renaissance down to the first decades of the nineteenth century, received much attention in the writings of the educational reformers. Before the establishment of gymnasiums, military drill was employed in not a few colleges. In certain colleges, as at Harvard in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, dancing schools were attended by many men. Lessons in fencing also were given. The Immediate Government of Harvard College, in reply to questions of a Committee of the Board of Overseers in the year 1824, declared that: "Individuals make a point of brisk walking daily; but a large number, as is too common with persons of sedentary pursuits, are negligent in this respect."[1]

In the last quarter of the eighteenth and the first quarter of the nineteenth century, various experiments were made in respect to physical education. The European experiments quickened the interest in America. The first college to establish a gymnasium was Harvard. In the year 1826 one of the dining halls served as the place of beginning. Dr. Follen, instructor in German, was also instructor in this art. At the time that Harvard opened its simple gymnasium, Yale offered a similar advantage. In the next year three other New England colleges—Brown, Williams, and Amherst—also set up apparatus. But the work thus begun in the third decade did not develop in the following decades of the century. For its development the community lacked proper physiological knowledge and interest.

In this period, and especially in the first years of the fourth decade, occurred the endeavor to unite the physical exercise

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[1] "College Reports," etc., by George Ticknor, "Answers of the Immediate Government," p. 47.

which manual labor gives with intellectual employment. In many colleges, in all parts, attempts were made to give to students through labor on the farm, or at the bench, money, recreation, and sport. The endeavor was honest and sincere. It was believed by many people that pushing a plane was quite as remunerative in fun and health as pushing a football. At Oberlin College, in a circular issued in 1834, it was said that the

"Manual labor department is considered indispensable to a complete education. It is designed first to preserve the student's health. For this purpose, all of both sexes, rich and poor, are required to labor four hours daily. There being an intimate sympathy between soul and body, their labor promotes, as a second object, clear and strong thought, with a happy moral temperament. A third object of this system is its pecuniary advantage; for while taking that exercise necessary to health, a considerable portion of the student's expenses may be defrayed. This system, as a fourth object, aids essentially in forming habits of industry and economy, and secures, as a fifth desideratum, an acquaintance with common things. In a word, it meets the wants of man as a compound being, and prevents the common and amazing waste of money, time, health, and life."[1]

But the attempt made at Oberlin, Marietta, Western Reserve, Lane Theological Seminary, and other colleges, south and east as well as west, failed. It was not based upon physiological laws. Exercise to be of proper advantage to the student is to be enjoyed. Most students, like other people, are so made that work is not enjoyed.

In the last half of the century, the development of the gymnastic system was rapid. Almost every college provided itself with a building and equipped it with apparatus and employed a teacher. In most cases, attendance upon the exercises was required as a regular college exercise. In this endeavor to make the education of the body a worthy part of the education of the man, Amherst, through Prof. Edward Hitchcock, Jr., was a leader and an inspiring example.

Out of the work of the gymnasium grew, as a natural condition and cause, the vast athletic interest of undergraduates.

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[1] "Oberlin: The Colony and the College," James H. Fairchild, p. 186.

This interest had also an independent origin. It took on largely, although not entirely, three forms—rowing, baseball, and football.

The first rowing club in any American college was formed at Yale in 1843. In the following ten years so great had become its popularity that in 1853 no less than fifteen boats were owned by the class clubs. In 1852 the first intercollegiate race was rowed, Harvard defeating Yale on Lake Winnepesaukee. The course was two miles, and the race was rowed in eight-oared barges. The character of this first contest may be inferred from a remark made by one of the Harvard crew that they had only rowed a few times for fear of blistering their hands. The chief idea of training was avoiding sweets on the actual day of the race.[1] In 1858 an attempt was made to establish an intercollegiate regatta in which four colleges should unite, but the drowning of one of the Yale crew prevented the contest. In 1859 Yale won the first of her many victories over Harvard, and in the same year built her first boathouse. In 1860 Harvard, Brown, and Yale competed in the third intercollegiate regatta. The civil war interfered with further contests, and none was attempted until the year 1864. The following year, in the race between Yale and Harvard, Yale won—in the fastest time ever made in America—in a three-mile race and return. In 1869 a Harvard crew went abroad and rowed Oxford, from Putney to Mortlake, and Oxford won by only six seconds.

By this time rowing had become firmly established in the two most historic American colleges. This form of sport was at once intercollegiate and individual, colleges having facilities for rowing organized crews for competitive contests as well as for individual sport. Throughout the last half-century, various associations, some large and some small, have been formed of colleges which have promoted intercollegiate regattas.

Baseball was introduced into the American college from the general community. The first regular nine was formed at Princeton in 1858. Yale and Amherst organized teams in the following year. Princeton was most vigorous in advancing the

[1] "Yale Athletics," by Richard M. Hurd, p. 7.

new sport. Harvard and Yale played their first regular series of games in 1868. From that time to the present in all colleges, as in the general community, the game has held an important place. The rise of baseball in the favor of the community, however, has been greater than its advancement in undergraduate opinion. It has become the great American game, as football, in turn, has become the great game of the college.

From time immemorial, kicking or catching ball has been recognized as one of the happiest sports. As early as the year 1840, an annual game of football was played by the Sophomores and Freshmen of Yale. This game was, on the whole, rather a rush than an articulated campaign. It was a contest of individual skill. The rise of the formal game, however, is found in the first years of the eighth decade. In 1872, at Yale, was formed a football association, and in the following year, an intercollegiate association was organized. From that time to the present, the game has been increasing in popularity at the colleges and also in the attention which it commands from the general community. It has become the great American academic game. It has, in these last years, received the severest condemnation, as well as equally warm commendation. The condemnation visited upon it is expressed in a report of the president of Harvard College, who says:

"Some of the lesser objections to the game are its extreme publicity, the large proportion of injuries among the players, the absorption of the undergraduate mind in the subject for two months, and the disproportionate exaltation of the football hero in the college world. The crude and vociferous criticism, blame, and praise which fall to the lot of the football player can be of no possible advantage to any young man at the opening of his active life; on the contrary, they keep before him an untrustworthy and unwholesome standard of public approval or disapproval. Some danger attends almost all of the manly sports, and taking their risks makes part of the interest in them; but the risks of football are exaggerated and unreasonable. In a well-managed college, where men physically unfit for football are prevented from playing the game, the risk of death on the football field within four years is not so great as the risk in riding horseback, driving an automobile, or boating and yachting, if these sports are followed for years. Nevertheless, many serious injuries occur which are apparently recovered from in good

measure, but which are likely to prove a handicap to the victim in later life. Sprains, strains, concussions of the brain, and injuries to bones are apt to leave behind them permanent weaknesses, which in later life become troublesome. The distraction from proper collegiate pursuits of multitudes of undergraduates during the football season has become a familiar phenomenon; but it is, nevertheless, a mortifying one. The football hero is useful in a society of young men, if he illustrates generous strength and leads a clean life; but his merits of body and mind are not of the most promising sort for future service out in the world. The alert, nimble, wiry, tough body is, for professional or business purposes in future life, a better one than his; and the mental qualities of the big, brawny athlete are almost certain to be inferior to those of slighter, quicker-witted men whose moral ideals are at least as high as his. The state of mutual distrust and hostility between colleges which all too frequently football creates is another of these lesser evils. This distrust is publicly manifested in humiliating ways, as when a member of the opposing team, or an official of the game, puts his ear close to the mouth of the trainer who has run out from the side-lines to wash the face of a prostrate player. The precautions taken against trickery, like the armor and padding against hurts, show what the game has come to be. The carrying into elaborate and highly artificial practice the enfeebling theory that no team can do its best except in the presence of hosts of applauding friends is still another of the lesser evils of football. Worse preparation for the real struggles and contests of life can hardly be imagined. The orator, advocate, preacher, surgeon, engineer, banker, tradesman, craftsman, admiral, general, or statesman who cannot do his best except in the presence of a sympathetic crowd is distinctly a second-class man.

"None of these things, however, enter into the main objection to the game, for the main objection lies against its moral quality." [1]

"To surprise, ambuscade, and deceive the enemy, and invariably to overwhelm a smaller force by a greater one, are the expected methods of war. But there is no justification for such methods in a manly game or sport between friends. They are essentially ungenerous, and no sport is wholesome in which ungenerous and mean acts, which easily escape detection, contribute to victory, whether such acts be occasional and incidental, or habitual." [2]

President Eliot continues by saying:

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[1] "Reports of the President and the Treasurer of Harvard College, 1903–1904," pp. 18–20.

[2] Ibid., p. 21

"The sources of the grave evils in this sport are: First, the immoderate desire to win intercollegiate games; Second, the frequent collisions in masses which make foul play invisible; Third, the profit from violations of rules; Fourth, the misleading assimilation of the game to war as regards its strategy and its ethics." [1]

But the commendations of other college presidents are quite as warm, although expressed with less of definiteness. Certain presidents, in particular, indicate their belief in the advantage of the game in the giving of an intellectual training. President Northrop of the University of Minnesota says:

"The effect on the real intellectual work and relations of the players themselves concerning which you inquire is decidedly beneficial. Men trained under a competent and wise leader, taught the habit of obedience, self-control, quickness of decision and action, and made capable of being a part of an effective machine and at the same time retaining their individuality, doing intellectual work outside of books, indeed, but not the less important or disciplining, get something of value that they never could get from books, and if they are all right morally, become specimens of manliness delightful to see. The effect on the intellectual tone and scholarship of the whole college is, as far as I can see, not perceptible in any way, except that a genuine college spirit is cultivated and an enthusiasm for the institution itself which binds students to their Alma Mater, and is valuable both to the student and to the college."

President Merrill of Colgate University says:

"I cannot see that football is detrimental to the intellectual tone and scholarship of the whole college. Probably it is distinctively helpful. The athletic spirit is quickened in the whole body of students, and undoubtedly the general attention to healthful exercise and even to the severe work in track athletics, baseball, and basketball is beneficial to mental work."

Among the evils of the game which have come to be recognized are: (1) Danger to life and exposure to injury; (2) temptation to fraud in making up teams; (3) temptation to betting; (4) temptation to roughness; (5) enthusiasm becoming so great as

[1] "Reports of the President and the Treasurer of Harvard College, 1903–1904," p. 22.

in certain conditions to approach a form of hysterics; (6) disadvantages, though slight usually, to the scholarship of certain players; (7) too great frequency of games; (8) the inability of athletic associations to handle properly large sums of money; (9) the public exposition of young men who are primarily students; (10) reports in newspapers giving false interpretations and false impressions of collegiate values.

The most recent of the forms of athletic sports is known as track athletics. In the last third of a century has occurred a vast development in field sports. In the year 1872 was formed the Yale Athletic Association. Field days have come to be recognized in almost every college. Sports of running, walking, pole-vaulting, bicycle riding have become objects of constant training. Tennis, too, has taken its place in the college as in the community.

These four forms of college sports are usually under the control of special athletic organizations. These organizations represent several origins and forms. In some cases they are composed of the students, headed by a committee of the Faculty; in other cases they are made up of students, who are aided by graduates; in other cases still, they are composed both of students, of graduates, and of representatives of the Faculty. The history of these organizations proves that the management of such affairs is fraught with the peculiar difficulty of misunderstanding and of inefficiency. Management by a body so changeable as the undergraduate cannot be other than inefficient, and management by the Faculty does not quicken the enthusiasm of students, and enthusiasm of students is an essential part in all athletic undertakings.

Another form of undergraduate activity, which in its actual performance is limited to a small number, is journalism. For nearly one hundred years what by a large interpretation of the word may be called journalism has had a place in the American college.

The tradition that the first college paper was established in Dartmouth near the beginning of the last century, and that Daniel Webster was editor, is without evidence. The Dartmouth *Gazette* was not a college, but a general, paper. It was pub-

lished at Hanover. In his Junior year, Mr. Webster wrote for it under the signature of "Icarus" or without any signature at all. This paper had, like indeed most early college papers, a brief career. Its first number was issued in August, 1799, and its last in July, 1806. But it may be said once and for all that, despite the tradition, the Dartmouth *Gazette* was not a college paper.[1]

The journals next published have genuine associations with great names, at Harvard with Edward Everett, and at Yale with Thomas S. Grimké. At these three colleges of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, as well as others, college magazines have from time to time sprung into existence. At Harvard, their number, previous to the publication of the Harvard *Advocate*, in 1866, was half a dozen, and at Yale, even before the foundation of the *Yale Literary Magazine*, in 1837, the number was seven. At Amherst, in 1831, appeared its first periodical, *The Sprite*. This was presently succeeded by *The Shrine*. *The Shrine* soon found a rival in the form of *The Guest*. In 1837 appeared the *Horæ Collegianæ*, but the class of 1841 voted to discontinue its publication. It was not until 1848 that there was published *The Indicator*. After three years of life *The Indicator* also ceased. *The Experiment* followed in 1850, but, true to its name, it lasted only a year. In 1853 the first number of the *Amherst Collegiate Magazine* was printed. The history of publications at Amherst College is an example of the ordinary history of college journals. Their career is brief. They represent the work of a few individuals. They are born of an enthusiasm which is ephemeral. Their influence also is slight. The honor which they give to their promoters soon ceases to remunerate. The pecuniary burden becomes too heavy.

Throughout the century college journalism has, in its broadest relation, sought to represent three purposes. It has offered a means for the presentation of essays upon subjects of general importance. These essays have considered general rather

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[1] The Webster Centennial. Chapter, "Mr. Webster's College Life," by Prof. C. F. Richardson, p. 32.

than academic questions. They have thus served as a type of the literary culture of the undergraduate. Occasionally, one finds such subjects as the "Misery of College Life" treated, but more often such topics as "On the Cultivation of a Taste for the Beauties of Nature," "The Power and Mission of Genius," "The Love of the Supernatural," have prevailed. They have thus served as an excellent intellectual gymnastic.

A literary purpose embodied in the journals is seen in poetry. The poetry of the college man has, on the whole, been somewhat superior to his prose. These poems have usually taken the form of either love, sentiment, or comedy. The college youth has lisped equally in both sentimental and humorous verse. The most famous of college verses are those of Oliver Wendell Holmes, which were published in *The Collegian* under the name of Frank Hock. In one volume of this magazine are found no less than seven pieces which have gained a place in permanent editions: "The Dorchester Giant," "The Spectre Pig," "The Reflections of a Proud Pedestrian," "The Mysterious Visitor," "Evening," "By a Tailor," and "The Height of the Ridiculous."[1] College verse seems to incline toward French forms, especially the rondeau, ballad, and triolet.[2] There also seems to be a great liking for the sonnet, and an equally great want of success in making it. As a type of college verse, one may quote from a poem, a parody of Joel Barlow's "Columbiad," written by Edward Everett, and also present a mathematical love song of Yale of threescore years ago:

> "And while he dances in vivacious glee,
> He feels his stockings loosening from his knee;
> The slippery silk in mind-benumbing rounds
> Descends in folds, at all his nimble bounds.
> Unhappy man, thy curdling blood in vain
> Flows through the channel of each shutting vein.
> A pallid hue thy ghastly face o'erspreads,
> Thy forehead glistens with fear's anxious beads.
> The fatal truth thine active muscles cramps,
> Thine ardour freezes, and thy spirit damps.

[1] "The Harvard Book," vol. ii, p. 179.

[2] Knowles's "Cap and Gown," Second Series, p. 8.

With cautious step thy timid feet advance,
And weave with curious care the dreadful dance.
Thy partner wonders at the change. No more
She sees thee bound elastic from the floor;
No more she sees thine easy graceful air:
Each jump is measured with exactest care."[1]

"The *cone* of my affections, love,
Hath found its base in thee;
The *square* of joy if thou'dst complete,
Add but thy smiles to me.
If I were skilled in figures, love,
Or could use symbols well,
I'd raise a *pyramid* of praise
Where all thy charms should dwell.
The total sum of happiness
Is *equal*, dear, to thee;
But if I'm *minus* thy sweet smiles
The world is *nought* to me.
Let not the *line* of all my life
Run parallel to thine;
But in that blissful angle meet
Where Hymen is the *sine*.
Let endless *circles* represent
My constancy to you,
And *series infinite* of years
Shall prove my love is true.
The cube of happiness, whose *root*
I see in thee alone,
Equals the *highest power* of love
Divided among one.[2]
Oh, I am that *divisor*, love,
The *quotient* is for thee;
And we'll together, *multiplied*,
Love to infinity.
Would, would that I of boundless love
The *logarithm* knew!

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[1] "The Harvard Book," vol. ii, pp. 174, 175.

[2] $(\text{Happiness})^3 = \frac{\text{Love}^4}{\text{I}}$

For natural *numbers* can't express
The *half* I feel for you.
If thou'lt *approximate* to me,
I'll leap not to despair,
Describing a *parabola*
Through *boundless* fields of air.
But troubles shall in *tangents* fly
Beyond the farthest *pole*—
Oh, thou *perimeter* of hope,
And *segment* of my soul!

"N. B.—Should'st thou my *proposition* scorn,
With *hempen* line I'll dangle,
And howling winds shall waft the sighs
Of thine own
GEORGE TRIANGLE, Q. E. D." [1]

The college papers have also served as a means of presenting college news. They give reports of all undergraduate undertakings; they also offer some account of the doings of graduates. The alumni department has usually had a significant place.

The first papers published were magazines of a monthly issue, and these were followed by journals, rather of news, issued each week. The weekly journals have, in turn, been succeeded by the daily journals, of which there are about a score published in as many colleges. The daily journals are usually devoted strictly to news, being direct expositions of the undergraduate interests of the day or of the hour.

The century which covers the history of college journalism also represents the history of students' music and students' songs. The college song stands for the happiness of college life quite as well as any expression made by the undergraduates. It embodies the freedom, the gleefulness, the thoughtlessness touched by pathos, the camaraderie of the four years. The songs written by the students are the outpouring of a heart moved by life's finer emotions, and these songs when sung by undergraduates, or other songs sung by them, are the bubbling forth of noble emotions.

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[1] "Yale College," vol. i, pp. 354, 355. By Frederick J. Kingsbury.

The songs of the students of the Middle Ages were devoted to such themes as their wanderings, the relations of students and women, drinking and gambling, spring and the pleasures of country life, society,—especially ecclesiastical,—and the brevity of life.

The songs of the modern students have, like the songs of the Middle Ages, grown out of the environment and conditions of their life. The first in time and also, possibly, the first in importance, are songs expressing love for one's own college. Such songs are hymns of praise for Alma Mater. "Dear Old Yale" is typical. Akin to general songs are verses in praise of single classes. These songs rise and vanish with the coming and the going of the class itself whose praises are thus sung. The rollicking side of college life is also frequently presented. The praise of Bacchus is specially dear. Among the best of such songs is one written by a graduate of Hamilton College of the class of 1851. The first stanza is:

"Had Bacchus lived with me and mine
He would have drunk no wine, no wine;
But said his prayers with conscience clear
And tasted nought but Psi U beer.
Poor Bacchus!
He did lack us:
In all Olympus far and near,
He found no drop of Psi U beer."

Among the more popular of college songs are those which concern women. The college age is the age of fancy. The fancy has gone out in such lines as "Nut-brown Maid" or "Rosalie." Tenderness, as well as purity of sentiment, characterize such verses. In recent years, too, football games have been the occasion of a large number of songs. Among the best of such lines is a song written in 1895, at Yale, devoted to Princeton:

"The Princeton tiger's stripes they say are orange and coal black,
They run in fancy diagrams all up and down his back,
But when he strikes old Eli's team he'll find it's sad but true
That the only stripes upon his back are black and blue."

Songs, also, which have been devoted to the social organizations of college life have secured a large place. The fraternity system, embodying the more characteristic relations of the undergraduate years, forms a center of such rhymes and notes.

In the last years, songs which are in part dramatic, or which are accompanied by dramatic action, have become popular. Peter Gray is perhaps the best example:

"Once on a time there was a man,
His name was Peter Gray.
He lived way down in that 'ere town
Called Pennsylvania.

CHORUS.

"Blow, ye winds of the morning,
Blow, ye winds, heigho,
Blow, ye winds of the morning,
Blow, blow, blow.

"Now Peter Gray he fell in love
All with a nice young girl,
The first three letters of her name
Were L. U. C. Anna Quirl.

"But just as they were going to wed,
Her papa he said 'No,'
And consequently she was sent
Way off to Ohio.

"And Peter Gray he went to trade
For furs and other skins
Till he was caught and scalp-y-ed
By the bloody Indians.

"When Lucy Anna heard the news
She straightway took to bed,
And never did get up again,
Until she di-i-ed."

Yet songs of pure jollification, embodying the happiness and frivolity of college life in its largest relationships, have been, and

are, as popular as any. Their absolute foolishness and nonsensicalness constitute their charm. One such song runs:

"Oh, I saw an old chipmunk a-settin' on a limb,
Sing polly-wolly-doodle all the day.
He winked at me and I winked at him,
Sing polly-wolly-doodle all the day."

All these songs of American college boys are simply the continuation of the happiness, the frivolousness, the sentimentality, of the wandering students of the Middle Ages. They still represent a part of college life which is significant and impressive.

As early as the year 1786 a singing club existed at Harvard College, and continued to exist until as late as 1803. The oldest club which still survives, "The Pierian Sodality," was founded in 1808. This organization was simply an instrumental band. For many years it had what its historian, the late John S. Dwight, calls its "fluting serenading."[1] At Yale College the history of music has been not unlike its history at Harvard. A few members of the class of 1813, in their Junior year, formed a musical society. It took upon itself not only social but also devotional duties. It furnished music twice a day at the chapel services. It continued thus to serve until 1855, when it resigned its place in the chapel. Continuing its organization thirteen years longer, it was aborbed in, or supplanted by, the University Glee Club.

The first movement for the organization of a musical society in Amherst College was made in 1824. It bore the name of the Pæan Band. After three years of enthusiastic service it dissolved in order to make some changes in its organization, and presently it was succeeded by what was known as the College Band. About the same time was also organized a singing society bearing the name of Beethoven, which continued to exist for forty years. As at Yale, in the last third of the century the musical interests of the students were centered in glee clubs.

The glee club at the present time in nearly all colleges represents the chief musical interests of the students. It also embodies a bond of relationship between the community and the

[1] "The Harvard Book," vol. ii, p. 366.

institution, for the annual tour of the glee club has become popular both with those taking it and with the graduates and friends of the college living in those places to which the club goes to give the annual concert.

College life has come to possess, moreover, even a language of its own. It is not the language simply of a vocation or a trade; it has taken on even larger linguistic relations, according as academic life is other than a vocation or a trade. Its words grow out of the actual and diverse conditions of undergraduate life. Undergraduate life in many colleges centers in the dormitory. The dormitory has given rise to numerous phrases: "stack" means to put a room in disorder by overturning and piling up furniture; "goody," is a woman employed to make the beds in college dormitories; "Venus" and "Amazon" also stand for a woman who takes care of college buildings.[1]

Fraternities, also, embodying an important phase of college life, are liberal in providing a vocabulary: "Deke" represents a member of Delta Kappa Epsilon; "Barb," a nonfraternity man; "Frat," a member of a fraternity; "Neutral," a student not belonging to any fraternity or other college society; "Rush," is to entertain a Freshman preparatory to taking him into a society; and "Cultivate," to make a considerable effort toward securing a man for a fraternity or society.[2]

Of course, too, the curriculum itself is prolific in phrases. Such words as "pony," "horse," "stable," "bicycle," "race-track," carry along their own meaning, as do also the words "crib" and "skin." "Panorama" and "winder," however, are new words, standing for somewhat new forms of helping oneself in an examination.

It is further noticeable that the American student, like the German, derives many words from biology. Especially in coeducational colleges is biology a popular source for epithets and for terms: "baby" or "fairy" means a pretty girl; "birdie" and "canary" are terms for a young woman; "hens" stand

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[1] "College Words and Phrases," by E. H. Babbitt, "Dialect Notes," vol. ii, Part I.

[2] Ibid., p. 12.

for women students; " hen-coop," " hen-ranch," " hen-roost," " bird-cage " are terms used in designating a dormitory for women. The student mind, also, does not scruple to call the sausage the " bow-wow," or the lunch-wagon of the night the " dog-wagon." A Welsh rabbit, in its substitution for " Welsh rarebit," becomes a " bunny," and the " fish " is a Freshman, or one who is easily beguiled.[1]

College words and phrases represent a language in its actual making. Words which are to-day popular, to-morrow will have ceased to be used, and on the following day new phrases will emerge. The language embodies the limitations and the force of a living speech. It lacks elegance, but it has life. It stands for the separateness and the vitality of the college.

In the history of undergraduate affairs and movements the government of students by themselves, furthermore, represents an important part. Of such government several types appear: Student courts; committees advisory to the Faculty; committees having a certain amount of power of discipline; and committees having charge of some phase or form of college life.

The first and perhaps the most important endeavor toward self-government had its beginning in 1868 at the University of Illinois, and the one of longest duration is that which was inaugurated in Amherst in the year 1883. In other institutions, too, such as two colleges of Maine—its University at Orono and Bowdoin—in the University of South Carolina and of Indiana, and in Cornell, various forms of this endeavor have been introduced. Any form of self-government has grown out of the desire to lessen the antagonism which, to a certain degree, naturally arises between Faculty and students, and also out of the consideration that, as a body, students are mature, possessed of the highest purposes, and eager to adjust themselves properly to all conditions. The system recognizes that the old theory of the college standing *in loco parentis* to the student has passed away. Regarding the merits of the general system, Professor Tyler, of Amherst College, has written:

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[1] " College Words and Phrases," by E. H. Babbitt, " Dialect Notes," vol. ii, Part I, p. 15.

"I have never yet seen the teacher or the student who would wish to return to the old system. The new system is imperfect, of course, like all the works of men. It admits of, and doubtless will receive, modification and improvement as the result of longer experience. It needs careful watching and wisdom in its execution. But the old system of permits and penalties, of excuses and evasions, of government without representation, of stepmotherly prohibitions and stepfatherly punishments, of mutual distrust and suspicion, of separate interests and hostile plans and purposes, has gone in Amherst, and has gone or is going in other colleges, never to return."[1]

But it must be said that this form of college control has largely passed away. Students like novelties, and when the self-government has ceased to be novel it has lost a share of its interest. Many Faculties have found it quite as difficult to do the duties assigned to them by the constitution of their self-governing society as directly to govern the students themselves. The machinery has, in certain cases, been heavy and cumbersome, and the process of its working laborious. Where self-government by students seems to be wise and easy, the process is gained quite as readily by the efforts of the Faculty, and in colleges in which governing is complicated the difficulty does not seem to be removed through its transfer to the students.

One general effect, however, of the presence of self-governing societies for a generation is seen in the better atmospheres which prevail in the relationship of the official bodies to the students. The college has, on the whole, become a brotherhood rather than a community of the controlling and the controlled. The increasing age and responsibility of college men and the increasing sense of companionship on the part of members of the teaching staff represent the condition which renders government of any sort less necessary.

The class is still, however, the central element in all college affairs. It is probably the most compact and firm of any organization. It springs from the identity of time and from the similarity of associations of a body of men. The members of a class

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[1] "A History of Amherst College," by W. S. Tyler, p. 244.

come to college together. They pursue the new life with the same feelings and under identical conditions. They enter together into all struggles, victories, and defeats. Together they pass from the mood of the bashful novice into the consciousness of growing ambition and of increasing strength and into a larger sense of humanity. Out of the class relation grow various customs of the college. The general custom of hazing had its origin in the relation of the Sophomore and the Freshman classes. Certain prohibitions were laid upon Freshmen as Freshmen—as the carrying of canes, the wearing of silk hats. The cane-spree at Princeton, the bowl-fight at Pennsylvania, and the banner-rush at Yale represent contests between the Freshmen and the Sophomores. The class, despite the growth of the elective system—which tends to form a cross division among all college organizations—still represents the most important community. Of it the late President Porter said: "Indeed we do not see how an American college without fixed classes could have an efficient common life. . . . In the American college the class is the charmed circle, within which the individual student contracts the most of his friendships and finds his fondest and most cherished associations. The sentiment of his class is that which influences him most efficiently, and is to him often the only atmosphere of his social life. . . . Each college year carries this community through its appointed cycle. As the youthful excitements of the beginning are gradually sobered into the more thoughtful anticipations that gather around the close, the fervor of its friendships increase rather than abate, till at the hour of parting the class feeling becomes more intense and the ties of its union are welded into links of iron."[1]

In the last century the increase of expenses of the student has been constant and great. In the first decades of the nineteenth century at Harvard College the expenses, including the rent of room, the cost of board, instruction, and a few other incidentals, were, at the lowest, One Hundred and Twenty-eight Dollars, and at the highest, Two Hundred and Fifty-nine Dol-

[1] "The American Colleges and the American Public," by Noah Porter, pp. 191, 192, 193.

lars. In the college year of 1805–6 the smaller figure was the estimate, and in the year 1816–17, the larger.[1]

The following is noted as expenses for a year:

"Steward and Commons, including board for thirty-eight weeks, at $2.50 per week				$105.00
Instruction, two first years $46, third year $64, fourth $74, average				57.50
Room rent				12.00
Library				4.00
Text books				15.00
Wood				20.00
Fuel for lecture rooms, repairs, catalogues, etc				15.00
Patron				6.00
				$234.50
Amount of charges in College Quarter Bills	$234			
Clothes, including every article of dress	120	to	200	
Laundress	12	"	24	
Candles or oil	10	"	10	
Servant	6	"	20	
Pocket money	26	"	52	306.00
	$408		to	$540.50
Vacations (board)	35		"	50.00
Vacations (wood)	10		"	10.00
	$453			$600.50

"Besides these expenses, Students purchase or hire their own beds and a few necessary articles of furniture, when they are first admitted to College; they cost $40 to $60."

The increase in the expenses of the student in the course of one hundred years has kept pace with the increase of living in the general community. In pecuniary as well as in other relations academic is in sympathy with general life. The Harvard catalogue of 1904–5 presents four scales of annual expenditure, which are described as " low," " moderate," " liberal," and " very liberal." In each of these estimates no special mention is included for books, stationery, clothing, washing, various subscriptions, and other incidental expenses. In each of the four scales the tuition is One Hundred and Fifty Dollars; the

[1] "College Reports," etc., by George Ticknor, "Answers of the Immediate Government," p. 50.

rent for one-half of a room runs from Thirty, through Fifty and One Hundred, to Two Hundred Dollars, and the cost of board from One Hundred and Seventeen, through One Hundred and Sixty, to Three Hundred and Ninety Dollars, and the expenses for sundries from Forty, through Sixty and One Hundred, to Two Hundred Dollars. The whole expense is, under the scale of Low, Three Hundred and Sixty-two Dollars; of Moderate, Four Hundred and Fifty-four Dollars; of Liberal, Five Hundred and Sixty-nine Dollars, and of Very Liberal, One Thousand and Thirty-nine Dollars.[1] The college student, and more especially his parents, through all generations, apparently has been unconsciously eager not to allow the increase in the cost of living in the general community to exceed by too many degrees the increasing cost of living within academic walls.

In this sketch of undergraduate undertakings mention should be made of an organization which is not undergraduate, but which grows out of this life. Every college has its Alumni Association. It represents one of the more recent and important of the organizations. It is a society of the graduates based simply upon the element of graduation. It is designed to promote good fellowship of the members and the prosperity of their Alma Mater. One of the first associations of this sort was formed at Yale in 1827. The Alumni Association of Harvard was formed in the year 1842 and the Alumni Association of Williams College in the year 1843.

It should also be said that associations of the graduates of individual colleges are found in all parts where a sufficient number reside. Princeton has no less than thirty-four such associations. In the list are Associations of South Africa and of Syria, as well as of Trenton and "The Oranges." The local associations of each college represent in their localities the graduate constituency of each college. They are a rallying point of memory, of personal relationship, and form a force serving for the college.

The education, therefore, which the college has given has not been an education of books or of formal teaching only. It has

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[1] "Harvard Catalogue," 1904–5, p. 568.

been an education derived in part from the administration of undergraduate activities: the education of efficiency. It has also been an education formed from associations "steeped in sentiment," and "which whisper the last enchantment" of a former time: it has been an education of good fellowship. It has been an education which comes from men mingling with men. The failure which some college men have suffered in their careers has been a failure born largely of inability to get along with their fellows. Such failures are indeed pathetic. But the number of such failures arising among college men is relatively small. The qualities of courage, patience, judgment, tolerance, courtesy, and honor are qualities which belong quite as much to association of college men with each other as to any other formative cause of the college.

CHAPTER XVIII

ARCHITECTURE

THE individualism which has characterized the development of the American spirit has also characterized the development of the architecture of American colleges. The colleges of Oxford and Cambridge represent the community. The quadrangle stands for a communal life. It is exclusive and inclusive. The quadrangle contains the dormitory, the dining hall, the chapel, the library, and the common rooms. The life of the individual and the life of the community are lived within these cloisters. The early colleges in America were at first obliged usually to be content with a single building. It was used for, and was sufficient for, all academic purposes. But when, with the increase of students, one building no longer sufficed, the succeeding ones were built without distinct organic relation to each other. Each was an individual.

The buildings of the American college have usually avoided the form of the quadrangle, and have been arranged in a straight line. The Yale buildings stood in a row. In the first two years of the sixth decade of the eighteenth century was built the hall known as South Middle, and for almost one hundred years thereafter all buildings were put in a straight line. A similar form was adopted at Bowdoin, Williams, Amherst, Brown, and other New England colleges. This form also was adopted in the earlier colleges of what is now the older West. It was introduced in the old Western Reserve College in its first habitation at Hudson, and also in Marietta, on the banks of the Ohio.

The type of architecture of these buildings was that which prevailed in the colonies. Its general description is embodied in the word "colonial," though "Georgian" might be a more exact epithet. These buildings were largely rectangular in shape, which was the form commonly employed for nearly all

public structures, for not a few warehouses, and for many of the more impressive private houses. Massachusetts Hall, built in 1720, still standing in the Harvard yard, represents a mansion of the neighboring town of Medford. The original design for the buildings of William and Mary was that of a square, it is said, but the design was never carried out. Sir Christopher Wren planned the first building, which was built in 1705. In the middle of the nineteenth century fire twice damaged this structure, but on each of these two occasions and on one other, reconstruction had been made within the original walls. The first buildings, too, of King's (Columbia) College and of Princeton embodied the same square type. These buildings differed chiefly in respect to the form of the roof.

The colonial type maintained itself until the first decades of the nineteenth century, when the increasing knowledge of Greek life and art came in to influence academic construction. The most conspicuous and earliest illustration of the introduction of the classical type is found in the University of Virginia. Jefferson was filled with the classical spirit above most of his contemporaries. He made an imitation of the Pantheon the chief part of the building of his University, and from it, on either side of its lawn, he built low colonnades, of one story, as dormitories for students, breaking up their lengths by porticoes, which were houses for members of the teaching staff. The lines of these colonnades were, and are, beautiful and impressive, but the cheap bricks of which they are constructed hurt the impressiveness of form and design.

A more notable example of the influence of the classical idea is seen in the building of Girard College in Philadelphia. Its erection was begun less than a decade after Jefferson's University was opened to students, and was completed in fourteen years. Excepting that the columns are Corinthian and not Doric, the building is modeled after the Parthenon. This building, built at a cost of almost Two Million Dollars, with unexampled thoroughness of construction, seems destined to stand as long as the Parthenon itself.

For a score of years, between 1820 and 1840, the Greek type prevailed. The first two buildings of Trinity at Hartford, bear-

ing the name of Jarvis and Seabury, were of the classical design. The colleges built their halls—as did all well-to-do villages their imposing mansions—with wide columns and low pediments. Both the domestic and the academic type were restful and impressive.

The long dominance of the Colonial type was succeeded by a brief term of the Greek, and the Greek was in turn succeeded by the Gothic. The Gothic type has had its chief field of application in academic and ecclesiastical buildings. The most impressive structures from the year 1840 to the present time have been of the Mediæval form. The Gore Library, Cambridge, the Library at Yale, and the Chapel at Bowdoin are among the finest examples. In fact, the Gothic has come largely to dominate. Nearly all of the buildings built at Yale in the last fifty years are of this form. In this period the architectural type of the Connecticut college has absolutely changed. At Williamstown the noble chapel, and at Vassar the equally noble library—bearing the same name as a memorial—represent the Gothic type in its noblest efflorescence.

In theory the Gothic is the ideal architecture for college buildings, for it represents the aspiration of the human spirit. It suggests the purpose and the method of the struggle for a noble life. It stands for the search for perfection, and although the search may never be fully gratified, yet it embodies the constancy of the endeavor. Historically, too, the association of the Gothic with Oxford and Cambridge enriches and ennobles the American use of the type. But it should be said that Gothic construction is expensive in money, and that its buildings are liable to fail to admit light sufficient for academic uses.

In the more recent years college architecture has assumed a vast variety of forms. It has become noted for a diversity, and even an incongruity, which distinguishes much of American architecture. The nobility and impressiveness of the Romanesque forms seen in the Leland Stanford, Jr., University, in the building of which is felt the influence of the great Richardson, do not cause one to forget that the individuality of the taste or the eccentricity of donors of buildings has been suffered too constantly and too largely to rule. Architectural crimes and sins have been committed in places where of all places they should

have been spurned. Buildings have in recent years been erected which represent a triumph of individualism even more intense than did the first buildings erected in the early colleges. They have, moreover, been erected with small reference to the relationship which they bear to each other. The campus of many a college contains in library, laboratory, and chapel notes of discord.

From this earlier period, when the first buildings were designed to serve all academic purposes, the process of differentiation in structure has gone on. Among the first differentiations made was that of the separation of the dormitory from the teaching function. In one academic building were for a time found the recitation rooms, the library, and the chapel. The first Yale chapel was built in the year 1763. Holden Chapel, the first chapel built at Harvard, was erected in the year 1744. The introduction of instruction in the physical and natural sciences, beginning with simple apparatus and enlarging by slow degrees, compelled the erection of separate laboratories for, in the first place, Chemistry, for Physics, and afterwards for Biology. The type which these scientific laboratories has assumed is most diverse, and the proper form is still undetermined.

The architecture of the American college began with a note of individualism; buildings were erected independent and unrelated. They were usually built in a row. After more than two and a half centuries of history college architecture is coming to represent the communal type. The form of the quadrangle is being introduced. The English tradition has returned. The dormitories of the University of Pennsylvania and all the buildings of the University of Chicago and of Leland Stanford represent the tendency. The individual note of independence is still held, but it is less insistent and less discordant. College Boards are interpreting the problem of their buildings and of their campus in a historic and æsthetic spirit.

The bareness of college buildings has in recent times by an enriching touch been made less bare, and their inconsistencies and incongruities less insistent. The stain of the weather has blurred and softened the boldness of red-brick walls. The ivy and other vines have helped to obscure architectural offenses.

The elms in Harvard's yard and the Yale campus and many other historic colleges have contributed dignity and majesty. Aisles of maples, of chestnuts, of elms, making vistas such as the French delight in, have given æsthetic and sacred associations to colleges as remote as Kenyon and Bowdoin. The college lawns have taken on in their tufts of grass the secret of softness and of greenness which remind one of the quadrangles of Oxford and of Cambridge. The work of the landscape architect has given a noble impressiveness to the outward setting of the American college which the architect in stone and brick has too frequently failed to offer.

CHAPTER XIX

LIBRARIES

THE enlargement of the library of the college synchronizes with the enlargement of the public library, as the growth of the public library has occurred simultaneously with the enrichment of the higher life of the community. The first library founded in America was the library of Harvard College. It is significant of the permanent association of a library and of the higher education that a part of the endowment made by John Harvard consisted of his books. The college has been the nursery of scholarship and of learning, and books have in every age since the invention of Gutenberg been at once the treasure house and the tools of scholarship.

The history of college libraries is a history of small beginnings and of slow enlargements. It is a history significant of the origin and progress of the forces making for human culture. The college library has constantly been the recipient of the higher literary and scholastic materials which the community has gathered, and it has, in its turn, ministered to the worth of these collections. The value of the library to the education of youth has in every age received noble illustration in the contribution of books made by the best men. Sir Isaac Newton, Sir Richard Steele, Matthew Henry, Charles Sumner, and Thomas Carlyle—to select names standing for a vast variety in condition and circumstance as well as for a long period—represent those who have directly given books to the library of the American college.

Slow has been the growth of the library of the American college, as slow has been the growth of the library, public and private. Almost one hundred and fifty years after its founding, in the year 1781, the library of Harvard College contained less than 11,000 volumes. Sixty years after the number had increased to 41,000. In the year 1791 the catalogue of the library

of Yale College showed less than 3,000 titles. In 1808 the number had increased to about 5,000; in 1823, to 6,500; in 1835, to 10,000; in 1850, to 21,000; in 1860, to 25,000; and in 1870, to 55,000. In the fourth presidency of Princeton College, at the beginning of the seventh decade of the eighteenth century, its library contained 1,200 volumes. Bowdoin at its opening had 600 volumes, and Dartmouth, at the beginning of the century, only 4,000. Amherst in its first year, in both its college and society libraries, possessed 1,300 volumes. In the year 1843 the library of Brown University had 10,000 volumes, and Williams College, as late as the year 1860, had about 8,000.

But in the last decades of the nineteenth century the growth of college libraries has been rapid and great. The increase has been contemporaneous with the growth of the number and size of public libraries. In the year 1875 the number of libraries in the United States was 2,039. Ten years later it was 2,988; in 1891 it had increased to 3,503; in 1900 it had become 5,383, and in 1903 it had increased to 6,869. In the year 1875 the number of people for each library was 21,432, and in 1903 it was 11,632. The size of the libraries have also shown an even greater increase. In the earlier date of 1875 there were less than 12,000,000 volumes in all libraries. In the year 1903 there were more than 54,000,000.[1]

The growth of college libraries has also been great. The number of volumes found in the libraries of the colleges is now more than 10,000,000, and they have a value exceeding $13,000,000. The value of these books approaches the value of all the scientific apparatus of the institutions.

The largest of the libraries is that of Harvard, which represents about 700,000 volumes and about 400,000 pamphlets; the library of Yale, the University of Chicago, and Columbia University each has about 400,000 volumes; Cornell about 300,000; the University of Pennsylvania about 250,000; Princeton and the University of Michigan about 200,000; Brown University about 150,000 volumes; the University of California, Leland Stanford, Jr., University, the University of Minnesota, the Uni-

[1] "Report of the Commissioner of Education," 1903, vol. i, pp. 775, 776.

versity of Illinois, Johns Hopkins University, Dartmouth, and the University of Wisconsin possess about 100,000 volumes each.

The growth of all libraries in the last decades of the nineteenth century is well illustrated in the growth of the library of Harvard College. In the five years from 1880 to 1885 the average annual growth was about 9,100 volumes; from 1885 to 1890 it was 9,800 volumes; in the following five years it was 10,400 volumes, and in the five years from 1895 to 1900 it was 12,800 volumes. What is true of the Harvard library is true of most libraries of progressive colleges. Their size has doubled since 1881, and has quadrupled since 1861. This growth, however, is less rapid than that which is found in Cornell. Cornell's volumes have doubled since 1892 and quadrupled since 1886. The increase of the books of the college has indeed been synchronous with the increase of all books.

The improvement in the matter of classification and of cataloguing of the college library has been as great as has been the enlargement of the library itself. From the written to the printed catalogue, and from the printed catalogue to the card, represents the general method. The card catalogue has included the list of both authors and subjects. The subject catalogue, in its growth and use, is largely American. The objections to it are numerous, but they are slight in comparison with the advantages which it affords both to the student and to the specialist.

The books which are found in a college library have in all the centuries been primarily academic. They represent the tools of scholars. In the year 1743 the collection at Yale contained only about 2,600 volumes, but these few were fairly comprehensive of scholastic relationships. The titles were relatively numerous. History, Theology, Biblical Literature, Medicine, Natural Philosophy were well represented. In the last one hundred and fifty years the American college library has sought to offer to undergraduate, to graduate, and to professor the proper tools of scholarship. The increase of such tools has kept pace with the general increase of knowledge. The number of volumes found in the different departments of scholarship in Columbia, for instance, represent the larger amplitude of books which are offered to students. The Department of Biology has a special

collection of some 4,000 volumes, of Geology, one of more than 2,000, and the Oriental Library contains some 14,000. Although the libraries of most colleges do have many books which are useless, yet the proportion of useful and vital books in the college library is probably larger than obtains in collections of any other type. The proportion of dead books is small.

An impressive element of the college, as of the general library, is the inclusion of certain special collections. In the last score of years several collections of great value have been placed in several libraries. The larger share of such books has come from Germany. German scholars lament the loss to German scholarship of many of their libraries; they believe that the loss is irreparable and that it cannot be counterbalanced by a corresponding advantage to American scholars. Among such collections are the library of Professor Bluntschli, of Heidelburg, which was presented to the Johns Hopkins University in 1882 by German citizens of Baltimore. The Dante collections at Cornell and at Harvard represent rich treasures. At Harvard, also, are found the Riant collection on the Crusades and and on the Ottoman Empire, comprising about 15,000 volumes. In Syracuse University the library of von Ranke, consisting of about 18,000 volumes, besides many pamphlets and manuscripts, is treasured. This collection is especially rich in German and in Italian history and in works relating to the French Revolution. At Cornell and at Western Reserve are respectively found the libraries of Professor Zarncke and of Wilhelm Scherer. At Harvard, also, has been placed the von Maurer library, which represents two generations of careful collecting. The Avery collection of books in Architecture at Columbia embody a most efficient historical and professional equipment. Such tools are of the highest usefulness; and such collections represent the noblest symbols of scholarship. It also may be not unfitting to add that college libraries contain books which are precious by reason of their former owners. The Harvard Library, for instance, has books that belonged to Louis XIV, Queen Elizabeth, Charles II, and to Napoleon, as well as to Ben Jonson, Milton, Melanchthon, Holbein, and Rubens.

The history of the library of the college is a history not only

of enlargement and of enrichment, but it is also a record of increasing availability. In the earlier decades the library was regarded as a treasure-house to be guarded; in the later it has been regarded as a treasure-house whose treasures are to be used. As late as the year 1868 the library of Columbia was open only two hours, from one to three o'clock each day. In the year 1877 one in seven of the college libraries was not open daily. Twenty years after the proportion was only one in forty. At the present time the libraries of all colleges are open throughout each working day. This increase is only a type of the increasing use which students make of the collections. At the beginning of the eighth decade of the nineteenth century only fifty-seven per cent of the students of Harvard College used the library. At the present time it is used practically by everyone.

The causes of the growth of the library of the college are comprehended in a single movement. It is the movement toward research. The college has come to stand for scholarship. Scholarship is at once the cause and the result of the book. The continuity of learning is embodied in the library. The library gathers up the wealth of the past. It represents all that man has struggled for or achieved. The library is therefore the treasure-house of the linguist, the philologist, the philosopher, the historian. Even the scientist finds in the library the records of experiments, be they successful or of failures. Such records are to him a guide for his own studies and experimentation. If the first step in the growth of a college library is the collection of books, and the second step making them easily accessible, the third step is the use of books in the enlargement of the field of knowledge. The scientific temper has come to prevail.[1]

[1] "As an illustration of the temper of the earlier day may be quoted the remark of a college president of distinction, to a gentleman who had been asked to consider a call to a position in his Faculty. After a prolonged conference, the younger man said: 'Now, I would like to know something about my lecture room, which I hope has my study immediately adjoining, in order that I may be in close contact with my students; and also about what are the chances for a department library, and for developing the interest of my students by required courses of reading, and so forth.' To him the president replied: 'My dear young friend, you have been called here as a teacher of history, not as a revolutionist.'"—"What Are College Students Reading?" by James H. Canfield, *The Outlook* for May 9, 1903.

In the spirit of research the college library is made immediately available for the student through the setting aside by members of the teaching staff of leading books upon great subjects. In many colleges hundreds of such books are reserved for the use of students, and in certain colleges, like Columbia, Yale, Cornell, Harvard, and others, the number is of thousands. The student is thus brought, under wise guidance, into the closest possible relationship with the masters of his subject. The reading of students has ceased to be general, and has become limited largely to the topics which they elect. If it has lost a certain degree of literary interest, it has gained in directness, force, insight, and intellectual fitness to scholastic needs.

The headship of the college library has passed from being represented in a subordinate duty of a member of the teaching staff to the comprehensive work of the librarian himself. He has become the chief of a most important department of college administration. Said the greatest of college librarians, Justin Winsor: "Books may be accumulated and guarded, and the result is sometimes called a library: but if books are made to help and spur men on in their own daily work, the library becomes a vital influence; the prison is turned into a workshop."[1] The man who turns the prison into a workshop is the librarian, and his duties are mainly those of transformation. For the old conception of the librarian was that of the man who kept the library from being in any way injured; the new conception is that of the man who keeps the books in the most active circulation and use. His duties are, therefore, manifold. In certain respects his duties are as complex as those of the college president, but like the president he has a multitude of counselors, and in them not only finds security but also inspiration. He is simply to get all the best books he can and to make them most accessible to the largest number of persons. He is so far forth a teacher of teachers as well as of students. In buying books he acts usually as an agent of the faculty or of a library committee. In putting books into circulation he is both an agent and a primary factor. His most important function is not,

[1] "Annual Report of Harvard College, 1876–77," p. 109.

indeed, one which a few years ago was supposed to be the most important. About twenty years ago it was argued that colleges should have a professorship of books and reading. It has now become evident that no man can perform these manifold functions: the librarian cannot be a professor of books and of reading *par excellence*. He simply does not know enough and cannot know enough in all departments. For each professorship is a professorship of books and of reading. So increased is the literature of every department of college study that it is only those who are associated with a department who do or can know enough to name its books. As education proceeds, differentiation becomes greater.

The growth of special funds for the support of libraries has, like the libraries themselves until recent years, been slow. In the year 1841 Harvard College received from William Gray for the benefit of the library the sum of $25,000. It was the largest gift of the kind which up to that time the college had received. The income from the funds given to buy books for the Harvard library has increased in the last sixty years, however, from a few hundred dollars to about $20,000. Among the funds given to the college for the purchase of books are found those bearing the names of Bowditch, Hollis, Lowell, Sumner, and James Walker. The support of the library of the college has always been dear to those citizens of the community who appreciate large relations. In the year 1874–75 Harvard College received four gifts amounting to a little over $54,000. Charles Sumner gave one-half of the residue of his estate—$29,005. A bequest of $15,000 was received from James Walker. Of these gifts, the President, in his Report, said:[1]

"The philanthropist and orator whose life was spent in a fierce struggle with a monstrous public wrong, the strong preacher and philosophic student whose lengthened days were passed in academic retirement, the venerable women full of years and of graces, all with a touching consent come bringing the same gift,—good books for the use of successive generations of students."[1]

[1] "Fiftieth Annual Report of the President of Harvard College," 1874–75, p. 37.

The enlarging number, greater usefulness of, and more adequate support given to, libraries find their proper symbol in the enlarged and more fitting building. If, in the earlier time, the more conspicuous building was the chapel or the recitation hall, the more conspicuous building of recent decades has been the library itself. The Low building at Columbia, and the building erected in memory of Mrs. Fiske at Cornell, the worthy structure built by a son of Bowdoin, as well as the library at Princeton, represent the most beautiful and impressive types of academic architecture. In them and in other buildings the advantages of light, quietness, freedom from dirt, dampness and overheating, and security are embodied. The most serious loss which Harvard College ever suffered was the burning of Harvard Hall and its library in 1764. The fire destroyed books, apparatus, and other treasures which had been accumulating for a century and a quarter. The building of the college library, as well as the library itself, represents one of the noblest results of academic administration.

The library, in all relations, stands for the intimate association of the college with the work of the world. It embodies the purest thought, and conserves the richest achievement. Above all other collections of books it should keep out all dross. Most books as they fall from the press fall into the ocean of forgetfulness, and sink by their own weight. The college receives the books which have life, the books which, as Lowell says of Gray, "may have little fuel but real fire." It wishes to possess all the books which are as unquenchable flame. Ex-President Low (from manuscript) has defined the university as "the highest organized exponent of the intellectual needs of man." The library may be called the highest organized exponent of the supply of these organized needs of man. He also says that the university "is an organized exponent of the questioning spirit in man." We may still further define the library as an organized exponent of the answer to the questioning spirit in man.

It is through the library that the college comes into relations with life universal, vital, and human. The library appeals to humanity of every range. The chemical laboratory is for too many only a condition which appeals to the exterior senses only.

Laboratories of other departments are likewise as meaningless. But a great collection of books awakens in the most stupid wonder, and in all other persons emotions higher than wonder, according as the intellectual receptivities are nobler. Most vital, too, are these relations. Into the library has come the blood of humanity, and the college man drinks deep of this inflowing life and gives himself in deeper devotion to humanity. It is not too much to say that whatever of the universal may belong to the university belongs more to the library than to any other part.

In respect to availability for the use of both members of the teaching staff and of students, the library of the American college is superior to the libraries at either Oxford or Cambridge, or to those of the German universities. The accessibility of books is as much superior in the American institution as the European collections themselves are superior to those of the American. Frequently as many days are required for drawing a book in the library of a German university as are minutes in drawing one in the American college.

CHAPTER XX

GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL INSTRUCTION AND DEGREES

The development of the American college has resulted in the establishment of instruction for graduates and for those preparing for the chief professions. The spirit of the American people,—eager for advancement,—has been most clearly indicated in this development. The colleges have, from the beginning, offered a certain amount of instruction for graduates. The offerings have usually been informal, and the teaching, in no small degree, personal. It has represented an individual service, given on the part of the teacher and received on the part of the student.

The first important endeavor made to offer instruction to graduates occurred at Yale in the fifth decade of the last century. Woolsey was Professor of Greek, and the Sillimans, father and son, were glad to receive advanced students. In the first two years of Woolsey's presidency a formal beginning was made. Among the reasons assigned for the establishment of the new department were chiefly the demand, and allied with this the advantages which would thus accrue to the men who received the instruction, as well as to the cause of scholarship. The Department was organized upon more or less of a personal basis. The payment of instruction was to be made to the teachers themselves "as they may think proper." Instruction was offered by President Woolsey twice a week in Thucydides or Pindar. This plan continued for several years. The number of students was small and did not increase. Neither was the Department enlarged until the year 1872. The number of students in the eighth decade remained substantially, as for the larger period, at fifty.

In the year 1872, when Yale was reorganizing its Department of Graduate Instruction, Harvard was making also a formal beginning. This beginning was the result, in part at least,

of the enlargement of the elective system of studies. The elective system necessitated at Harvard, as it always necessitates, an increase in the number of teachers. The system also encouraged, if it did not oblige, students to pursue their work to an extent which had not formerly been possible. The system created a scholastic atmosphere; it gave birth to scholarly aspirations. Out of such conditions arose the movement for graduate instruction. It represented the culmination of the German influence in the higher education of America. The Graduate School stood and stands for the Philosophical Faculty of the German university.

The movement for graduate instruction was built upon collegiate foundations. Its great significance was, and is, as a symbol of the vitality of the education given by the American college. Out of the discipline of the college arose the inspiration of and for scholarship. If, as says President Gilman:

"The lessons to be inculcated during a college course include obedience to recognized authority, the performance of appointed tasks, punctuality in meeting all engagements, and attention to physical development. To acquire knowledge, to master the arts of clear reasoning and fit expression, to test the capacity for different kinds of intellectual exertion, to develop a desire to master difficulties, and to form intellectual friendships and associations, are among the ends to be sought in a college life." [1]

It is also true that graduate work represents freedom, the patient and prolonged cultivation of a small field of knowledge, a nobler appreciation of the worth of knowledge itself, and the endeavor to make good the hope of offering some contribution, however small, to its accumulated treasures. The relationship between undergraduate and graduate instruction is the relation between general and special culture. As President Hall of Clark University has said:

"One makes broad men, the other sharpens them to a point. The college digests and impresses second-hand knowledge as highly vitalized as good pedagogy can make it, while the university, as one of its choicest functions, creates new knowledge by research and discovery." [2]

[1] "Seventh Annual Report Johns Hopkins University," by President Gilman, p. 7.

[2] "Clark University," 1889–99, pp. 53, 54.

The progress of graduate instruction received a great impulse in the establishment of Johns Hopkins University in the year 1876. The prudent guidance and conservative inspirations of its President, Daniel Coit Gilman, made largely for the spread and worthy popularity of the higher instruction. Clark University at Worcester, established in 1889, continued the tradition established at Baltimore. The Catholic university at Washington, for a less broad constituency, promoted the general movement. Historic colleges also introduced higher instruction. Several of them were moved rather by hope of what they might do than by reasoned assurances of their ability to serve graduate students. State universities were able to persuade legislatures that it was the duty of the community to provide facilities for research. The work of research in not a few state universities began with the Department of Agriculture. From this Department—on its face most remote from the higher scholastic relations—the endeavor for scholarly research extended into the Department of Liberal Arts and Sciences. The scholarly endeavor has awakened, in a generation, a constantly increasing response on the part of American youth. From a few score of students in the year 1872, the number has increased to more than seven thousand. The increase has been gradual, representing a development of interest and of facilities. The number of graduate students has now become so large that the special purpose of fitting themselves as teachers in college no longer controls. Not a few such students become teachers in high schools and academies; and also not a few enter other callings than that of the teacher.

It also should be confessed that this growth in the graduate school has occurred nothwithstanding the fact that the academic career has, to many able men, lost a certain degree of attractiveness. It is also the testimony of those who are most immediately concerned that the ablest men are not seeking academic careers. The reasons of this condition are to be found in the industrial, financial, and social relations of American life.

Graduate instruction follows collegiate. Either by the side of the college, or as a part of its more regular instruction, or as an independent foundation, has grown up the school of applied

science, or, the technical college. Like graduate instruction, its roots go back three-quarters of a century. Like graduate instruction it represents a twofold purpose, although as a matter of fact one purpose—the professional—has largely dominated.

The first school of science and the first school of civil engineering established in any English-speaking country was established in Troy, N. Y., in 1824. It was called the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. Its founder was Stephen Van Rensselaer, and in association with him in its early history was Amos Eaton. Rensselaer desired to establish a school to teach those who may wish to apply "science to the common purposes of life."[1]

"My principal object is," he further said, "to qualify teachers for instructing the sons and daughters of farmers and mechanics, by lectures or otherwise, in the application of experimental chemistry, philosophy, and natural history to agriculture, domestic economy, the arts, and manufactures. From the trials which have been made by persons in my employment at Utica, Whitesborough, Rome, Auburn, and Geneva during the last summer, I am inclined to believe that competent instructors may be produced in the school at Troy, who will be highly useful to the community in the diffusion of a very useful kind of knowledge, with its application to the business of living."[2]

Such was the beginning of the technical instruction. The course was far more practical than is now usually offered. A large amount of work was performed in the field. Perhaps the most distinctive element in the plan was in giving to the pupil the place of the teacher. Students themselves delivered experimental and demonstrative lectures.

For a score of years after the foundation was laid at Troy no development of special significance occurred. But in the year 1847 Abbott Lawrence, of Boston, gave to Harvard College $50,000 to fill a want which Edward Everett, the President, declared,

"Is more and more felt in the community, that of a place of systematic instruction in those branches of science which are more immediately

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[1] "History of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute," by Palmer C. Ricketts, p. 6.

[2] Ibid.

connected with the great industrial interests of the country; such as Chemistry in its various applications to the arts of life; Engineering in its several departments; Zoölogy and Geology, with the other kindred branches of Natural History." [1]

This gift, it may be added, was said by the Treasurer of the College, Samuel A. Eliot, to be,

"The largest amount ever given at one time, during the lifetime of the donor, to any public institution in this country; and it would be difficult to imagine in what way Fifty Thousand Dollars could probably be made productive of greater good than in the cultivation of a kind of knowledge, the want of which is beginning to be strongly felt in this country, and the possession of which will develop our resources, both intellectual and physical, with a rapidity, a certainty, and an advantage which will, perhaps, surprise the most sanguine." [2]

At Yale the development of scientific instruction was rather a growth than an act of immediate foundation. In the year 1846 the corporation voted to establish two new professorships, one of agricultural chemistry and of animal and vegetable physiology, and the other of practical chemistry. From the beginning thus made, and by slow degrees of advancement in the face of indifference rather than of active opposition, the opportunities for giving scientific instruction advanced until the year 1859, when James B. Sheffield founded the school which bears his name.

In the decade in which occurred the Great War the movement for scientific instruction made special progress. In that decade about twenty-five institutions were founded and many older institutions opened scientific departments. The quickening of the life of the nation through the great contest resulted in the laying of these and other educational foundations. The great Morrill Act was passed in the darkest hour of the nation's history. Furthermore, the development of scientific observation and the progress of scientific thought, as well as the growth in the importance of industrial conditions, demanded the establishment of schools of applied science. From the seventh decade of the last century the movement has progressed in ever enlarging rela-

[1] "The Harvard Book," vol. i, p. 280. [2] Ibid.

tionships until no less than one hundred and fifty institutions offer formal technical tuition. About one hundred of these departments are connected with universities.

The history of technical instruction represents the history of the development of two ideas—the idea of training and the idea of education. One purpose controlling the methods of instruction has been to make engineers; the other has been to enlarge the intellectual power of the student through the pursuit of science. The one purpose, in its narrower application, is embodied in the trade school; the other represents, through liberal learning, a liberal education. The higher purpose is expressed by one who was himself the eminent president of the greatest technical school in saying:

"The student thoroughly trained in exact science has acquired (first and foremost) intellectual honesty, that is, complete satisfaction in resting upon the truth, whatever that may prove to be; then, the power of discrimination in all things concrete and objective; next, the ability to concentrate attention, and to pursue investigation unfalteringly and relentlessly to exact results; finally, the mastery, in a high degree, of his own powers and faculties."[1]

President Walker also says:

"The earnestness of study, the directness and continuity of attention, the zeal and enthusiasm of work, which arise from the immediate contemplation and pursuit of useful arts, do not merely secure a more perfect mastery of the principles of science; they of themselves constitute an educational force which every teacher in such a school recognizes with delight, but which, in colleges of the old type, generally characterizes only the gifted scholar. To the sincerity of purpose and the intellectual honesty which are bred in the laboratory of chemistry, physics, and mechanics, in marked contrast to the dangerous tendencies to plausibility, sophistry, and self-delusion which insidiously beset the pursuit of philosophy, dialectics, and rhetoric, is added, in the school of technology, a strong and almost overpowering impulse toward study and research, which has already, in spite of traditional prejudices, caused these institutions to be recognized as of the highest educational character by many of the best thinkers and teachers of our land."[2]

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[1] "Discussions in Education," Francis A. Walker, pp. 33, 34.

[2] Ibid., pp. 93, 94.

The worth of these technical schools in both the narrower and the broader relation is of inestimable value. Every industry has been benefited. Untold wealth has been added to the treasures of the world. Products that were formerly wasted have been utilized. Results that are material, of the highest worth, have been created. The happiness of the race has been increased; and its comfort vastly augmented. In the broader relation, too, a new instrument of education has been provided. Men who rebelled against an education of the linguistic and philosophic type have willingly given themselves to the education of the laboratory. In the later time, however, the consistency and coworking of the scientific and philosophic form has emerged. The interrelationship and mutual advantages belonging to such copartnership have been well set forth also by President Walker. He has fittingly said:

"There is no incompatibility between the two sets of qualities especially developed by the two sorts of training. A man may be liberal and broad in spirit, and yet exact and strong in his thinking. He may have the keenest possible sense of what is incomplete in form, yet be tolerant in dealing with the unavoidable imperfections of his material, or of his human agents or assistants. He may hold in view the perfect instrument, the perfect end, not less strongly because his economic sense instructs him that it is necessary to stop short at a certain point in order to secure a return for labor and capital to be invested."[1]

Technical education may be regarded either as liberal or as professional. But education which is strictly professional has related primarily to the older callings of the clergyman, the lawyer, the physician. Education of this character has in the United States been conducted in both independent schools and in schools allied with colleges of liberal learning. The theological school has more usually been independent in its organization, although admission has represented a college degree more constantly than admission to the schools of either law or of medicine. The fact is that the doorway to the schools of law and of medicine has not usually been set in the academic wall. Students in these schools have usually passed directly from the secondary

[1] "Discussions in Education," Francis A. Walker, p. 34.

school. Exceptions, however, to this method have always obtained.

The last score of years, however, has seen a great change in the preparation required for admission to the schools of law and of medicine. These schools have in a few instances become strictly graduate schools, and the tendency of requiring a liberal education of those seeking professional training has become strong. The causes lie in the increasing elaborateness of civilization, creating new problems of health and of personal and property rights; in the enlarging wealth of the community, allowing more liberal compensation for service; and, in the case of medicine, in the progress of physical and natural science. At the present time, even if a professional school do not require a liberal education of those seeking to become its matriculants, not a small share of such candidates are men of liberal learning. For the pursuit of professional studies the graduate bears qualities which insure to him a larger professional equipment and richer professional results.

In the increased length of the course in schools of law and of medicine, and in the higher requirements for admission to the colleges of liberal learning, has arisen a desire for the shortening of the united collegiate and professional course. This desire has been met by colleges and professional schools in diverse ways. One method has been found in the proposed shortening of the collegiate period to three years. Harvard represents this method more thoroughly than any other college. Of this method its great President has said:

"The argument in favor of a three years' course for the degree of Bachelor of Arts rests on three assumptions. It assumes (1) that a boy who has had good opportunities may best leave his secondary school at the age of eighteen, because the average boy is then ready for the liberty of a college or technical school; (2) that a young man who expects to follow a profession ought to enter on the practice of that profession by the time he is twenty-five, or at least twenty-six years of age; and (3) that a young man who is going into business after obtaining a college training may most advantageously enter on that business at twenty-one or twenty-two years of age. If these assumptions can be denied, the argument for the three years' degree falls." [1]

[1] "Letter of President Eliot to the Associated Harvard Clubs," May 13, 1905.

Other methods, which under certain limitations might be considered a modification of the regular shortening of the college course to three years, obtain. One of them consists in regarding the first year of a professional course as also the last year of the undergraduate. Another method lies in allowing the undergraduate Senior to take a part, and a part only, of his work in the medical or law school, which work is counted toward both the Bachelor's and the professional degree. A further method also lies, in case a college contain no professional school, in permitting the undergraduate Senior to enter a professional school under the general direction of his college, and to count the first year thus begun as the last year in his undergraduate course. The whole question represents a long and serious educational process which is still incomplete. All of these methods and the general conditions prove the increasing influence of the college of liberal learning, and also the increasing oneness of American education.

A certain significance for both the undergraduate education and the graduate and professional training is seen in degrees. The first degree in the present academic order, and probably the first in historic relationship, is that of Bachelor. After more than three centuries of use, and at the time of the founding of the first American college, the term Bachelor had come, both in England and on the Continent, to represent a definite educational process and result. Having probably its origin in ridicule, like many other great names, it stood, at the close of the thirteenth century, for one who is authorized to teach, and to teach in preparation for a mastership. The license of the university rector to give a course of lectures constituted a man a Bachelor. For this degree a certain proficiency in at least Logic and Psychology was necessary, and for the degree of Master of Arts, in addition, some knowledge of Moral Philosophy was required. The time requisite for securing either degree differed in different Continental universities. The period extended from six years in the thirteenth century to three and one-half years in the sixteenth. Finally, in the Continental universities the first degree disappeared, becoming identical with matriculation.

The founders of the first college were moved by the English tradition in respect to giving degrees, as in respect to many other symbols and methods. From the beginning the two degrees were conferred. The first degree is given to " every schollar, that on proofe is found able to read the Originalls of the *Old* and *New Testament* in to the Latine tongue, and to resolve them *Logically*; withall being of godly life and conversation; And at any publick Act hath the Approbation of the Overseers, and Master of the Colledge, is fit to be dignified with his first Degree."[1] The second degree was given for further attainments in Logic, Philosophy, Natural and Moral, and in Mathematics. For the securing of the second degree the candidate was obliged to be ready to defend his theses, and also the Continental tradition was embodied in the fact that at the time of receiving his first degree he was regarded as having qualified to read lectures in public. The intimation of the significance of the two degrees in the first years of Harvard College is to the effect that they stood for the qualifications of the teacher.

It is also apparent that the second degree was in certain cases conferred at or near the time of the granting of the first degree. But the usage soon began of conferring the second degree a year after the granting of the first. For more than two hundred years after the founding of the first college the second degree of Master was usually conferred upon each graduate who had received the degree of Bachelor, and often the length of time was gradually lengthened till it became three years. In certain cases the payment of a small fee was the only necessary condition.

It was more than fifty years after the foundation of the first college that an honorary degree was given. In the year 1692 Harvard conferred upon Increase Mather the degree of Sacræ Theologiæ Doctor (S.T.D.), which has usually been interpreted as the degree of Doctor of Divinity. For the following three-quarters of a century no honorary degree was conferred by Harvard except the degree of Master of Arts. In the year 1771 a second degree in Divinity was conferred upon Nathaniel Appleton, and two years after the same degree was given Sam-

[1] Sibley's "Harvard Graduates," vol. i, p. 14.

uel Locke and Samuel Mather. In 1773 also the first degree of Doctor of Laws was given, being conferred upon John Winthrop. The second degree of Doctor of Laws was given to George Washington,[1] upon whom also Yale five years after, the University of Pennsylvania seven years after, and Brown University in 1790 also conferred the degree. In 1779 Harvard conferred the degree of Doctor of Laws upon Horatio Gates, major general of the American army. In the same year also emerges an intimation of the French influence in the giving of the degree of Doctor of Laws to Joseph De Valnais. Evidences of the French influence continue also in the degree being conferred upon Frenchmen in 1783 and 1784. Lafayette received the degree in the latter year. The present custom of conferring this most significant honor upon statesmen is seen in the fact that in the years 1787, 1790, and 1792 Harvard conferred the degree upon Thomas Jefferson, John Jay, and Alexander Hamilton.

Proof is not lacking that Yale College also was influenced by the French movement, for in 1779 and 1783 the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon the French minister Gérard, and in 1783 upon Joseph Philippe Létombe.

In this same period similar degrees were conferred by Columbia and Dartmouth. The first honorary degrees given by Dartmouth included both the degrees of Doctor of Divinity and Doctor of Laws, which were conferred in 1773. Nine years after John Adams received the degree of Doctor of Laws. Between these two dates members of the Phillips family, Samuel and John, as well as President Stiles, of Yale, were the recipients of one of the degrees.

The present American tendency, therefore, of using degrees freely as evidences of public service had an early origin.

Down to the middle of the nineteenth century the two degrees of Bachelor of Arts and of Master of Arts were the only ones conferred as standing for specific intellectual attainments. The degrees of Doctor of Divinity and of Doctor of Laws were also the only honorary degrees. But with the enlargement of the field of knowledge, and with the increasing specialization

[1] "History of Harvard University," vol. ii, p. 167.

in the cultivation of this field, began the creation of new degrees to represent these diverse and special attainments. The first degree of Bachelor of Science was conferred by Harvard in 1851. The growth in the study of modern languages, as well as the enlargement of the field of science, prompted the creation of a literary degree, which has taken the form usually of Bachelor of Literature or of Bachelor of Philosophy. The specialization in degrees has proceeded to a high degree of detail. At the present time no less than two hundred and thirty-eight degrees are conferred. Among the more trivial of new degrees—and most of them are trivial—are many which contain the Bachelorship as applied to specific arts—Bachelor of Accounts, B.Acct.; Bachelor of Business Science, B.B.S.; Bachelor of Elements, B.E.; Bachelor of Elementary Didactics, B.E.D.; Bachelor of Finance, B.F., which was conferred upon five students by the Wharton School of Finance of the University of Pennsylvania in 1884; Master of Domestic Economy, M.D.E., and many others equally, or, if possible, more unworthy of having a place with great historic symbols.

The most important of all degrees of recent creation is the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. This degree, introduced from the German university, was first conferred in the United States in the beginning of the seventh decade. It has in twenty-five and more years come to be regarded as almost exclusively a professional degree. Although it represents in some cases a course of study undertaken for general reasons, yet in most instances it represents special attainments made in order to become a teacher. Historically it has come to represent what the degree of Bachelor stood for in the continental universities six hundred years ago. General learning, proficiency in a certain part of the whole field of scholarship, ability for teaching subjects in their higher relations are embodied in the symbol. It represents the most serious endeavor of the higher scholarship in America, as a symbol of research, of training, and of efficiency.

CHAPTER XXI

THE COURSE OF STUDY OF THE LAST THIRD OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The improvement which in the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century was made in the course of study was slight. The ancient languages were taught in the first years of Cornell University, in the seventh decade, in much the same way, and with a similar degree of advancement, in which they were taught in the first years of the University of Virginia in the third decade. The learning of their grammars and the translation of their literatures into English represented the chief material and method of instruction. The other primary discipline—Mathematics—had progressed. Arithmetic had been thrust back into the fitting school, and some new subjects, such as Analytic Mechanics, had become included in the course. The modern languages had also advanced, having gained a regular, though slight, place. English, after a long period of obscure neglect from the beginning, except in Rhetoric, had near the close of the period begun to assert its rights both as Philology, History, and Literature. The sciences were in most colleges still objects of either indifference or contempt. Chemistry was presented largely, though by no means entirely, in lectures and in a few simple experiments performed by the teacher in the presence of the class. In Physics only elementary courses were offered. Botany, Astronomy, and Zoölogy were taught in their elements, and largely in a descriptive way. Geology had, next to Chemistry, secured a proper place. As early as the year 1840 the Association of American Geologists was formed, being the first national scientific organization created. At the beginning of the fifth decade in states as far south as North Carolina, as far west as Ohio, in New York, and in the New England states geological surveys had been begun. The desire to know the resources of the rocks and the

soils was general and hearty. Geological researches were promoted by the visits of Lyell in 1841 and 1845, and also by the coming of Agassiz a little later in the same decade.

The progress of philosophy as a subject of college instruction was quite unlike the progress of Geology. In its fields of logic, ethics, as well as in metaphysics, the subject was taught in the middle and later years of the century by Porter at Yale in much the same spirit in which it was taught by Levi Hedge at Harvard in the first years of the century. History, too, was still largely a matter of general outlines and of a universal character. Most colleges had not established chairs. The duty of its teaching was usually assigned to the Chair of Languages or of Philosophy. Political Economy and Political Science were also in most institutions still unknown. In fact, the advantages wrought in the course of study from the foundation of Harvard down to the foundation of Cornell University were not as great as those made in the last third of the nineteenth century.

Yet the results of the training given in this period of two generations were not dependent alone on the subjects taught. The results of this training were rich in both the individual and the community. They embodied forces which made noble contributions to all the forms of American life. These results were secured primarily by the richness of the character and the eagerness of the service of the teaching staff. Personality was proved to be, as it ever is, mightier than truth. The presentation of truth was inadequate, the learning of the teacher was narrow and superficial, but the desire of the teacher to aid the student in securing the great aims of a liberal education was potent, and this potency resulted in the enrichment and enlargement of the character of the student. Furthermore, the life of the college was simple and comparatively free from distractions. Athletic sports had not captivated. The lotus of the Fraternity system had not flung out its spell. Luxuries were still unborn. These conditions and the devotion of the staff to teaching served, notwithstanding the insufficiencies of the course itself, to train men unto high ideals, intellectual earnestness, and general efficiency.

A new day was about to dawn in the academic world. Its significance was largely unknown to those who lived in its morn-

ing. But, seen from a distance of a generation, its coming was full of meaning. Three causes at least contributed to the intellectual sunrise.

A great war always quickens and liberalizes. The University of Berlin was founded in the darkest hour of Prussia's history. Napoleon established the University of France in the midst of his unique career. The Morrill land grant, giving thirty thousand acres to each state for each Senator and Representative in the national Congress, was made at a time when it seemed doubtful whether the public territory should belong to the United or to the Confederate States. In the year 1863 the legislature of Massachusetts gave Agassiz ten thousand dollars for the publication of the catalogue of his Museum. The civil war aroused the mind of the North to a level of power and of appreciation of intellectual concerns which the people had never known. It prompted a reëxamination of the bases on which rest the highest and most fundamental interests of the state. The war created the intellectual and ethical mood for planning and for doing great things. It was inevitable that such causes and results should eventually declare themselves in either the improvement or foundation of institutions of highest education.

The seventh and eight decades, moreover, were in the North a time of apparently large commercial prosperity and of great increase of wealth. The vast destruction of values suffered in the North was hidden by the inflation of the currency. The North was richer in dollars in the year 1870 than in the year 1860. Commerce and industry were immensely profitable down to the crash of 1873. The total wealth of the country in 1860 was $16,000,000,000. Notwithstanding the destruction of values wrought by the War, the wealth had increased to more than $30,000,000,000 in 1870—a proportion of increase larger than was made in the following decade. The wealth of the State of New York increased from $1,824,000,000 in 1860 to $5,557,000,000 in 1870. The wealth of the State of Massachusetts increased from $802,000,000 in 1860 to $1,824,000,000 in 1870. In the next decade in both of these states occurred also a large increase. The wealth of New York State in 1880 was more than $7,528,000,000, and of Massachusetts almost $3,000,000,000. A

state such as Ohio, uniting the characteristics of both the East and the West, increased its wealth from $1,182,000,000, in 1860 to $1,909,000,000 in 1870, and made a still further increase in the following decade to $3,258,000,000. In the thirty years from 1850 to 1880 the total wealth of the United States increased more than $35,000,000,000. In a country like this, wealth eventually results in the enlargement of academic endowment.

The period was, further, the beginning of the great scientific movement. The "Origin of Species" was published in 1859. Asa Gray, the botanist, William B. Rogers, the geologist, promoted in America the spread of its doctrines. The popularity of Agassiz could not stop, though it might retard, the adoption of the new views. But whether the theory of Darwin was true or false, the discussion of the theory promoted a large movement in behalf of natural science, and the promotion of this movement resulted in a general intellectual revival.

This intellectual Renaissance was both a result and a cause. In it emerge two foundations and three personalities of significance.

Cornell University was founded in no small degree as an unconscious protest against the limitations of the traditional classical education. Its inciting motive and method were indicated—although altogether too broadly—in a pregnant phrase used by him whose name the University bears, which forms a part of its shield.[1] Johns Hopkins University embodied a wholly different purpose and method. It stood for the training of a select body of scholars in the highest relations of intellectual culture and scholarly efficiency. Both institutions were alike in a determination to promote the higher interests of humanity through the spread of learning.

Johns Hopkins University was not the transplantation of Bonn or of Berlin. It did not adopt the system of the *privat-docent*. It established a system of fellowships having for its primary purpose the encouragement of original research, and through the making of such research the equipping of men to become teachers in the American college. It thus gave an im-

[1] "I would found an institution where any person can find instruction in any study."

pulse to the higher elements of the higher education of the utmost worth. It caused the enlargement of the graduate work done at Harvard and at Yale. The contribution thus made to the nobler interests of American life was also of great worth.

The careers of the first presidents of these two great institutions, Gilman and White, have been singularly alike, and also, because of their similarities, impressively unlike. From the same class at Yale, of 1853—and a great class it was—they each entered the diplomatic service and presently from the diplomatic passed over into the academic. Gilman served his Alma Mater, but White, going into the West, became a teacher in the University of Michigan. Presently Gilman was called to the Pacific Coast to the presidency of the University of California, and White became the academic organizer of a new university and the friend and counselor of its founder. Gilman was called to the presidency of the new Johns Hopkins. Cornell was organized to represent the democracy of learning and Johns Hopkins was organized to promote the higher and necessarily immediately narrow relationships of learning. White was called to noble diplomatic service in later years. Gilman's presidency extended to a quarter of a century, and at its conclusion he became the president of the Carnegie Institution, organized for the prosecution of research. Each has embodied a noble type of the citizen, both of America and of the world, of the public servant and of the academic administrator. Dignity, efficiency, graciousness in personal character have been the primary personal elements in securing rich human results.

In the period separating the foundation of Cornell from the foundation of the Johns Hopkins University there came into the office of the presidency of the Harvard University its greatest incumbent.

President Eliot, like his predecessor Quincy, regarded and regards the administration of a university as a business. He is not, like Hopkins, first a great teacher and secondly an administrator. He is not, like Porter, of Yale, who was his contemporary in office for fifteen years, first an author and secondly an administrator. Nor is he, like Woolsey, first a scholar and secondly an administrator. Rather, he is first and last a university adminis-

trator. He illustrates the fact of making such a presidency a business.

To the doing of this business President Eliot brought and brings a vigorous and impressive personality, distinguished alike for moral and intellectual parts. Yet the intellectual side is more conspicuous and dominant. But the will of this personality is yet more conspicuous and more dominant than the intellect. The proportion calls to mind the remark of Schopenhauer that the normal man is two-thirds will and one-third intellect. President Eliot has a full and clear conception of what education from the primary school to the university ought to be. His energy as an administrator is worthy of his conception. He is not a *doctrinaire* only. He has a deep and intimate acquaintance with affairs, and that acquaintance extends to details. The union of the philosophical and the practical in him is unique. When one attempts the rather difficult task of naming the chief intellectual or other characteristic of this vigorous personality he is tempted to give to each one of several qualities preëminence. I am inclined to think, however, that fearlessness is the quality that is preëminent. Fearlessness arises either from the consciousness of power or from the knowledge of the absence of danger. In President Eliot it arises from the consciousness of power. In this fearlessness he possesses clearness of vision, loyalty to duty, independence, equanimity, persistence, constructiveness. His confidence in his own conceptions as true, and in his own convictions as right, is worthy of Luther. He has nothing of that "pleasure" which Bacon suggests, in his essay on "Truth," as the "mixture of a lie." He accomplishes nothing by indirection. His fearlessness is so great that he seems to court perils. This fearlessness is never bluster. He has a gentle severity, born not of feebleness but of abounding and well-conserved strength. Such courage is an essential part of a man who is gifted with leadership. President Eliot is one of Lowell's men of "light and leading." He is, like most reformers, at once a pessimist and an optimist. Every reformer is a pessimist in the present tense—he sees and knows the evils out of which he wants to get. Every reformer is an optimist in the future tense—he has a vision of the blessedness into which he wants to go. The con-

structive element in this man is more vigorous than the iconoclastic. If he tears down—and he does tear down—it is only to build up. I am inclined to believe that he has very much more respect for existing institutions than he receives credit for. He is a conservative, but he has an open mind. He has regard for both man and men.

Akin to his fearlessness is his positiveness. He takes sides, and has no thought of concealing which side it is that he takes. He is no "trimmer." He is a partisan in political and social questions—questions about which prejudice is sensitive to the quick. The contrast between him and a predecessor in office, also confessedly great, is sharp. Dr. A. P. Peabody said of President Walker:

"I ought not to omit mention of what seemed his intended and studied neutrality . . . on such subjects in religion, ethics, philosophy, politics, and practical life, as divide the opinion of honest, right-minded, well-disposed Christian men. He was far enough from being double-tongued. He could not be equally claimed on either side, but seemed to be on either side, of mooted questions of all kinds. A friend of mine, learning that he was going to preach at King's Chapel, on a Thanksgiving Day, on Popular Amusement, went to hear him with a special desire to know what he thought of the theater, which in Boston was then just coming from evil into fair repute. His report was that he heard from Dr. Walker more in favor of the theater than he had ever imagined, and more against it than he had ever known, but it was impossible to ascertain from the sermon whether the preacher approved or condemned theater going."

President Eliot knows, and is very willing for the world to know, his opinion upon any subject upon which it may become his duty, or even his right, to have an opinion; and of the truthfulness and rightfulness of his opinion he seems absolutely sure. He converts his opinions into principles.

The peculiar contribution which Charles W. Eliot made in and through Harvard University to the higher education was the promotion of the elective system of studies. Of that system he himself has said:

"After a separation from the University of six years, two of which were spent in Europe as a student and four at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology as a professor, I went back as president in 1869 to find a

tolerably broad elective system already under way. The wishes of the governing boards and external circumstances all favoring it, the system was rapidly developed. Required studies were gradually abolished or pushed back; so that first the Senior year was made completely elective, then the Junior, then the Sophomore, and finally, in June last, the Freshman year was made chiefly elective. No required studies now remain except the writing of English, the elements of either French or German (one of these two languages being required for admission), and a few lectures on chemistry and physics. None of the former exclusive staples, Greek, Latin, mathematics, logic, and metaphysics, are required, and no particular combinations or selections of courses are recommended by the faculty. I have therefore had ample opportunity to observe at Harvard the working of almost complete prescription, of almost complete freedom, and of all intermediate methods. In Europe I studied the free university method; and at the Institute of Technology I saw the system—excellent for technical schools—of several well-defined courses branching from a common stock of uniformly prescribed studies.

"The briefest form in which I can express the general result of my observation is this: I have never known a student of any capacity to select for himself a set of studies covering four years which did not apparently possess more theoretical and practical merit for his case than the required curriculum of my college days. Every prescribed curriculum is necessarily elementary from beginning to end, and very heterogeneous. Such is the press of subjects that no one subject can possibly be carried beyond its elements; no teacher, however learned and enthusiastic, can have any advanced pupils; and no scholar, however competent and eager, can make serious attainments in any single subject. Under an elective system the great majority of students use their liberty to pursue some subject or subjects with a reasonable degree of thoroughness. This concentration upon single lines develops advanced teaching, and results in a general raising of the level of instruction."[1]

Many are the objections to the elective system; and some of them are to certain educationists of much value. President Porter has expressed them with force. He has said:

"The collegiate course will be so seriously shortened and curtailed as to fail of its appropriate results; the university course, which it is proposed to graft upon it, will be prematurely commenced, and for that reason cannot be really successful. College students at the end of the Freshman year are usually incapable of selecting between any two pro-

[1] "Educational Reform," pp. 137, 138.

posed studies or courses of study. They do not know themselves well enough to be able to decide in what they are best fitted to excel, nor even what will please them best. Their future occupation is ordinarily not so far determined as to deserve to be seriously considered. Their tastes are either unformed or capricious and prejudiced; if they are decided and strong, they often require correction. The study which is the farthest removed from that which strikes his fancy may be the study which is most needed for the student. The preferences are also likely to be fickle. The real but unanticipated difficulties which are revealed by trial will occasion discontent and vexation, or some new discovery concerning the value of a study that has been rejected will lead to *ennui* and discontent. So far as the studies presented for selection are disciplinary, the reasons for preferring one above another are not so decisive as to warrant any great liberty of election. So far as they are professional or practical, it is not desirable that these should be entered upon at so early a period of the education. What might seem to be gained in proficiency or in time is lost many times over in mental breadth and power by a neglect of the studies which are disciplinary and general. The student who begins the study of theology or law in his Sophomore or Junior year, or pursues a course of reading which has special relation to his future profession, in ninety out of a hundred instances becomes a greatly inferior theologian or lawyer in consequence, and does not appreciably abridge the time required for his professional preparation. By a similar rule, any very special attention to any one of the physical sciences in the way of severe scientific study or of time-consuming occupation is almost certain to involve a loss in scientific acquisitions and eminence at the end of a very few years. The specialty or profession to which a student is to give the best energies and the exclusive devotion of his life will occupy him soon enough at the latest, and will confine his powers as well as rule his tastes with its absorbing demands. All that he can spare from it in the way of energy, preferences, and time is, in a certain sense, so much gained to his mental breadth, and therefore to his final eminence. If it can be shown that there is any single course of study which is within the capacities of the majority of students who are properly prepared and who will use ordinary diligence; which includes no branch of knowledge with which any man of liberal education ought not to be acquainted; and if also these branches are not prosecuted farther than is desirable for the ends of such culture, it follows that such a course of study should be prescribed in every college. This is especially true if it can also be shown that a prescribed course can be so modified as to attain many if not all the advantages which the elective course promises to achieve.

"Other objections might be named, as that the introduction of elective studies tends to weaken the class feeling, which may be so efficient for intellectual incitement and culture, and to interfere with that common life which is so powerful in most of the American colleges. It must necessarily be complicated in its arrangements and operose in its working. It must also require greater energy than can be exacted of any single administrator who acts as the driving wheel of the class of the college; or greater united and conspiring activity in the heads of separate departments than can be presumed in ordinary institutions or under the conditions of our imperfect humanity. It may further be urged that the existence of a prescribed, rather than an elective curriculum in the preparatory or the professional school was originally the result of circumstances and the product of experience. The same circumstances that compelled and the same experience which taught it at first will, we believe, require that it be resumed as often as the attempt is made to abandon it in any institution which is designed for general culture. The inconvenience will be found to be so great and the advantages so inconsiderable —if, indeed, the disadvantages are not so manifold and overwhelming— as to compel a return to what is substantially a uniform and prescribed course." [1]

The working of the elective system in the northern college, in which it was first adopted with larger freedom, has to many minds, although by no means to all, proved to be on the whole satisfactory. The worth of many elements of the scheme is still in some respects undetermined. But certain facts do emerge.

The percentage of students who abandon the study of the classics immediately on entering the college shows much fluctuation. At Harvard College it ran from eight per cent in the year 1889 to forty-seven per cent in 1898. In the year 1899 it was less than fifteen per cent, and the following year more than forty-five. The percentage of those, however, who dropped the classics with the end of the Freshman year does not show so great fluctuations. In the year 1886 it was sixty-two per cent; in the year 1890, thirty-eight per cent; in the year 1895, twenty-eight per cent; and in the year 1900, thirty-four per cent. The proportion

[1] "American Colleges and the American Public," by Porter, pp. 103, 104, and 105.

of those who dropped mathematics also on entering college is large, but does not manifest quite the fluctuations which are found in the case of the ancient classics. In the year 1888 the percentage was forty; three years after, twenty-two. In 1895 it was forty-two, and in the years 1899 and 1900, seventy-one and seventy-four. Specialization on the part of students does not manifest that high degree of percentage which, in advance of the adoption of the elective system, was prophesied. In the year 1886 only thirteen per cent of the students, after their Freshman year, took at least half their work in one department. The percentage was in the year 1899 ten per cent, and in the year 1900 twenty-seven. The proportion, however, of those who, without specialization, did considerable amounts of rationally connected work seemed in certain years to be large, and in others exceedingly small. In the year 1886 it was forty-seven per cent; in the four years from 1892 to 1896 it ran from forty-two to fifty per cent; in the year 1899 it had fallen to fifteen per cent, and in the year 1900 it had arisen to twenty-nine per cent.

Dean Briggs says that the facts regarding the elective system at Harvard College

"Do support the belief that, as a body, the students of Harvard College use the elective system with some sense of responsibility and with reasonable intelligence. This belief is further supported by what the students themselves say in their talks with college officers and with each other. Many of the better students plan their work years ahead; and many whose record is mediocre show a genuine desire to choose their studies well. Some Freshmen are bewildered by the variety that is offered to them, and in the awkwardness of a first interview with their advisers may seem worse bewildered than they really are; some older students would choose their courses earlier if they could get earlier the list of courses to choose from; and some hand-to-mouth persons never know what to choose till they have chosen it; but these evils would not, so far as I can see, be obviated by what is called group system of elective courses. The objections to a group system were pointed out by the President in his report for the year 1884–85; the chief advantages of it might perhaps be secured if groups were set before the student as dumb advisers rather than as peremptory guides.

"Now, as always, the main question about the elective system is when and where to begin it; how early a boy should be allowed to study what

he likes rather than taught (if he can be taught) to like what he studies. If a student's early education has not trained his memory and his will, he is unpromising material in College under any system, but is more likely to accomplish something under an elective system than under any other, because more likely to hit on some study which will awaken his enthusiasm; if his early education has been sound and strong he will use an elective system wisely."[1]

The elective system has in the last third of the last century become a prevailing condition in all well-equipped colleges. Its basis in Psychology and in Sociology, as well as its relationship to the promotion of scholarship, has resulted in its general and free adoption. Under it, as both a condition and a force, have occurred the changes wrought in the curriculum of the colleges in the last generation. These changes have in certain subjects of study been slight, but in most profound.

The subjects in the teaching of which the changes wrought in recent decades have been least significant are the ancient languages. In the last third of the century the emphasis has been transferred in Latin and Greek from grammar to archæology, to history, and to literature. The field of illustration has vastly increased, and of the enlarged wealth of this field most colleges have been slow to take advantage. Hebrew, after falling out of the curriculum for more than a century, has regained a slight place. If the ancient languages have relatively lost ground, the modern have vastly gained. German and French have come to represent leading subjects. The use of German, French, and other Romance tongues in the classroom has gradually converted them into excellent tools for the training of the mind. The field of literature which they represent has proved to be of great enrichment. The college has sought to avail itself of them as a means of intellectual culture.

An equally great addition has been made to the materials for and the facilities in the teaching of English. A member of the class of 1854 at Yale, himself a college professor of the English language and literature, says that in the teaching of English in Yale at that time:

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[1] "Annual Report of Harvard College," 1899–1901, pp. 120 and 124.

"If the name of a single English author was ever mentioned in the classroom by an instructor during my whole college course, then I have forgotten the fact. We had instruction—a little—in composition, but for English Literature we were left to our private reading. I remember reading through Wordsworth's 'Excursion' when I was supposed to be cramming for the Sophomore Biennials. I remember that Carlyle was much read by the more ambitious students, like Andrew Dickson White of '53, but English authors had no part nor lot in our curriculum. I have a catalogue issued in my Senior year and it confirms my recollections. On one page is given the name of the 'Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature,' but the term 'English Literature' is not again mentioned on its pages—neither in 'Course of Instruction,' nor in the 'Terms of Admission.' Among the latter the only allusion to English is the statement that candidates are examined in 'English Grammar.'" [1]

The memory of my friend is confirmed by President White himself, who says:

"At Yale in my day, there was never even a single lecture on any subject in literature, either ancient or modern; everything was done by means of 'recitations' from text-books; and while young men read portions of masterpieces in Greek and Latin, their attention was hardly ever directed to these as literature. As regards the great fields of modern literature, nothing whatever was done. In the English literature and language, every man was left entirely to his own devices." [2]

In this period, and especially in the second half of it, has occurred a development fundamental and far-reaching. The modern study is based upon the assumption that English literature is itself worthy of study. It embodies the messages of great writers. It represents a positive contribution of and to the human understanding. Such literary study is founded also upon the knowledge of the history of our English speech. Old English ministers to modern literature. In writing, too, has been made a transfer from the emphasis put on public speaking to an appreciation of the written form of expression. In the teaching of Rhetoric in the more recent time practice has supplanted theory. The newer method, without eliminating the

[1] Personal letter of Prof. L. S. Potwin to the author.
[2] "Autobiography of Andrew D. White," vol. i, p. 364.

value of the text-book, has accented consistency and care in actual composition. Such care has taken upon itself in nearly all colleges the personal element; an element which above all other teachers was in the earlier time embodied in Edward Tyrrell Channing at Harvard, and which brought forth rich results for American literature and life. In this field, too, public speaking has not become eliminated, but the formal writing and delivery of orations has largely given way to debating upon themes of current and vital interest.

The changes wrought in the teaching of English have been hardly greater than those which belong to the manifold field of Science. In the last third of the century Chemistry has developed into several separate sciences or branches—such as mining, agricultural, electrical, physical, and physiological. The method of teaching has undergone somewhat of a change, according as the subject has been regarded as a means and method of culture or as it has been regarded as a tool for the engineer. The place of the laboratory in Chemistry has become great, and apparently permanent. In Physics, too, have occurred as fundamental improvements. A generation ago there were probably not more than half a dozen physical laboratories. At the present time every worthy college is equipped. Teaching has passed over from being in no small degree descriptive of phenomena to the consideration of development of principles. In Physics, as in certain other sciences, the elemental courses are still chosen by the student as a means of culture, but also they are chosen for the ulterior purpose of leading to the pursuit of advanced subjects. The teaching has in consequence become less broad but more exact. If the peril of the old method was superficiality, the peril of the new is narrowness. Geology likewise has vastly enlarged its field. The material for illustration has greatly increased, and the laboratory method of instruction has tended to supplant the didactic.

In this period also has occurred the development of teaching in Biology. Botany, in the narrow sense, was in the earlier time the chief subject considered. But if Botany was the chief subject, what may be called the botanical method of teaching Biology has come to have great significance. In the giving of such

training Harvard was a guide and inspiring force. Another method introduced into American colleges by Johns Hopkins University, through Martin, a student of Huxley, has been called the Huxley-Martin method. According to this method, the study of living things is a single discipline. The study of life should therefore begin with the simple and proceed to the complex. According to the former method, the study should begin with the more familiar objects and should pass to those which are least familiar. Louis Agassiz represented and promoted this method of teaching. His personality and his instruction given at Cambridge and at his laboratory at Penikese were most potent forces. From them have arisen the laboratory at Woods Hole and others established on the Gulf of Mexico and on the Inland lakes. The laboratory ideas of Agassiz were, although modified, also extended by the Johns Hopkins method of teaching. The idea of research became thus firmly established in the American college, both as a means of studying and a condition of teaching. The worth of this method has come to be recognized as of the utmost importance not only to Biology, but also through Biology to all sciences. At the same time it should be said that the economic importance of Biology in Horticulture, Forestry, and general agriculture has begun to be appreciated as of singular importance.

In the ancient discipline of philosophy, contrasted in the earlier time with the sciences, great changes have also occurred. Psychology, which was formerly used to represent certain mental classifications, has come to possess a vital significance. It represents, by the laboratory or other method, the primary forces of man himself. In metaphysics and the history of philosophy is felt the empirical influence. *A priori* methods have been largely eliminated. Logic and ethics have also become more practical. These subjects, which were formerly to most students so remote, have come to possess a positive and directly vital relationship.

The whole general field, also, of Economics has received a vast enlargement. Political Science, in its manifold relationships of a study of the government of a city and of a state, has secured a large place in many colleges. Sociology, beginning in vague or atmospheric relationships, has taken upon itself certain laws

and principles which give large promise for the addition of a worthy discipline to the curriculum, and also holds out hope of giving to the race certain unique helps in its future progress.

The development in history is well indicated by the remark of President White, who says, in writing of the beginning of Cornell:

"It seemed to me monstrous that there was not in any American university a course of lectures on the history of the United States; and that an American student, in order to secure such instruction in the history of his own country, must go to the lectures of Laboulaye at the Collège de France. Thither I had gone some years before, and had been greatly impressed by Laboulaye's admirable presentation of his subject, and awakened to the fact that American history is not only more instructive, but more interesting, than I had ever supposed it."[1]

History, too, has seen an enlargement of its field as great as that which belongs to either science or philosophy. The establishment of separate chairs in this primary department is largely a matter of the last third of the last century. The great advance which history has made in the present generation receives illustration in the fact that as late as 1865 the Trustees of Columbia College were considering the question of the expediency of abolishing the professorship of History. Local and temporary reasons had much to do with this reaction. But that such a consideration was possible is deeply and painfully significant. The subject itself has come to receive a very high degree of appreciation. It is no longer regarded as a means of securing a little information about some of the more important events in the history of the world. It has come to represent a process of interpretation and of exposition. It seeks to interpret the past for the sake of the enrichment of the present. It has passed over from being concerned with wars and rumors of wars—important as these are in the development of a nation—to the consideration of the life of a people in all its forms. History has come to represent the microcosm of past humanity.

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[1] "Autobiography of Andrew D. White," vol. i, p. 383.

CHAPTER XXII

GENERAL RESULTS

As I review the history of the higher education in the United States for more than two and one-half centuries the question emerges, What has been the result of this education upon the American people? For the lives that have been lived in the service of this cause have been many, the treasure expended and the devotion given have been very great. Are the results worthy of the manifold expense?

One great result of the higher education has been the promotion of the intellectual unity of the American people with the history of the world. The modern world is the inheritance of the most precious treasures of the ancient. The noblest results which the Hebrew obtained through right conduct and holiness of character have, by intellectual interpretation, entered into the life of every civilized people. The sense of appreciation and of beauty which Greek culture enlarged, and the sense of force, of government, and of action which Roman civilization developed, have become a constituent part of modern life, national and individual. These principles, appreciations, and applications of great human forces of twenty and more centuries have been largely maintained by the university. One should not allow himself to say that had there been no university of Bologna, of Paris, or of Oxford, that the most precious results of the highest civilization of the great peoples of history would have been utterly lost; but the conditions do oblige one to affirm that had there been no universities in Italy or France or England, when the light of the Renaissance shone the earliest or the brightest, the treasure-room of the universities' storehouse would have lost not only many of its noblest glories, but also it would have been deprived of those works through which the universities have

largely contributed to the worth of the whole world. It is certainly true that had there been no universities or colleges established in America, the relation of America to ancient civilization, and even to that of the Middle Ages, would have been very slight. The American institution has brought America into unity with the life of civilization.

This result becomes all the more significant by reason of the tendency of a prosperous democracy to break with all the past. A prosperous democracy desires to make all things new. It does make, or at least in its own thought it does succeed in making, a new heaven and a new earth. For the prosperous democracy is in peril of becoming intoxicated with its own triumphs. It is inclined to believe that it has no relations with anybody or anything. In this condition, which calls out at once both admiration and lamentation, the university stands as the preacher of conservatism. It declares that the past bears to the present its experiences quite as thoroughly as to-day offers to the present its duty. It declares that man is still man in all times. The questions which Socrates asked are the questions which Browning propounds, and those questions are still as commonly put forth as when Socrates stood in the market-place or Plato walked beneath the plane trees of the academy. Plato still rules in the realm over which time has no limits. In all modern works one hears the voice, and not the echo, of a still vital past.

The value of such a contribution to all intellectual life it is impossible to esteem too highly. How poor the intellectual or social life of the individual which begins without at least some heritage! The peril is that such a life will pass into intellectual bankruptcy even before it has conceived a noble thought or been moved by the noblest emotions. It is a life which dies before it is born. Humanity progresses because it receives the resultant of all the past. Education purifies, refines, ennobles, and enriches this resultant and then passes it over to the future. Such is the work of the university and such are its peculiar duties in a prosperous democracy. This condition is simply an application and illustration of the great law of evolution: the present receiving the past, the future receiving what is now the present, enlarging, improving, enriching, and developing. Such a contribution of

conservatism has the American college made for the enrichment of American life.

In the application of the principle of intellectual unity the university has served to reconcile diverse educational ideals. In the higher education several ideals are emerging with distinctness and several forces moving. One ideal which the university embodies, according to certain interpretations, is the giving of a practical education. Another ideal, according to other interpretations, is the giving of a scientific education. A third ideal, according to still other interpretations, lies in the giving of an education which is embodied in the word discipline. A still further ideal is represented in the word culture. It is also said by other masters that the education of the university should be professional. In behalf of each of these ideals much might be offered. The education given by the university should be practical; it should relate to the practice of one's calling. It should be concerned with things and with actual life. It should, both as a cause or as a result, give one his living. But there is a practical that is high and a practical that is low. The most practical thing in education is to promote the power of thinking. Manual education without cerebral is of small consequence. The most practical thing in the world is to make a man think. Such is the purpose of the university. The scientific ideal also is worthy. It has close relation to the practical. By many, a scientific education is thought to be more practical than a linguistic or a philosophical education. A scientific education may be either professional or liberal. If designed to train one for engineering, it has all the merits and demerits of a professional training. If it is designed to train one for complete living, it is essentially liberal. Scientific studies are a means to an end, or in the case of professional training an end in themselves. The disciplinary ideal, moreover, has not passed away. Its primary purpose is to transmute the student's mind into an engine for accurate, profound, comprehensive thinking. This ideal may be called primary, fundamental, comprehensive. It belongs in no small share to the high school; it belongs also to the professional school. It can never pass away as an element in any large conception of education. The ideal of culture is often made to appear an-

tagonistic to the ideal of discipline. Culture represents the enrichment of the mind and discipline represents the power of the mind. The man of culture is the one who knows what is most worth knowing. It represents attainment rather than achievement, a condition rather than a force, an intellectual state rather than an intellectual energy. To the making of such a great type of humanity the university may well address itself. The professional ideal has in recent years emerged. Its emergence and prevalence threaten the continued and worthy existence of the undergraduate college. It is declared that in the receiving of a professional education the student may find at once the advantages of the disciplinary, of the cultural, and of the practical education. To such a conclusion the university cannot assent. Professional studies represent a necessity and a degree of intellectual power which can be best secured only through the undergraduate training. The questions involved in theology, medicine, pedagogy are abstruse, abstract, and complex. Only minds of the finer quality and largest power can secure the richest advantages through professional training.

For the educational process is to be consecutive rather than simultaneous. Primary, secondary, collegiate, professional represent the successive gradations. The university seeks to put every part and element of the educational programme in its proper place. It wishes to make accurate adjustments. It seeks to secure the proper relations of living to life, of educational theory to educational practice. It tries to make the practical scientific in method, if not scientific in content; to make the scientific disciplinary, to make that which is disciplinary cultural, and that which is at once practical, scientific, disciplinary, and cultural of consummate value in professional service as well as in largest and richest life. It seeks largeness, adjustment, wholeness.

But the function of the university of unifying intellectual interests applies in no small degree to all high conditions and relations. A democracy tends toward disintegration. The centrifugal tendency is stronger than the centripetal. The interests of different classes and of different sections militate against each other. The interests of a farming community like

Iowa is antagonistic to the interests of a manufacturing commonwealth like Pennsylvania. In this condition the university in a democracy represents a force of combinations and of coöperations. The associations into which not only the teaching force but also the student body organize themselves throughout the country are many and of power. The fraternities of students, in which, too, are enrolled as honorary members many teachers, represent the more obvious form of this union. But besides this form are also found debating leagues, political organizations, and also many scholastic associations. These scholastic associations cover almost every form of college work and condition, physiological, scientific, historical, and economic. There is also, be it said, growing up among all the colleges an *esprit de corps*. This spirit shows itself in a feeling that if one member suffers, all the members suffer with it; and if one member rejoices all the members rejoice with it. If, for instance, a president is asked to resign in a college in Maine for reasons that do not seem to be sufficient to the college presidents in Illinois, the college presidents in Illinois and neighboring states are inclined to investigate and to give judgment. If a professor in a college in California be removed in a way to show that academic freedom may be impaired, professors in colleges of New York and Massachusetts are inclined also to investigate and to give judgment; and in both instances not simply for the purpose of giving aid and comfort to the ones who are suffering, but also to prevent a repetition of similar offenses. The *esprit de corps* of the colleges is among the more recent of the academic growths, and it is full of promise for the happiness of the colleges and also for the unification of American life.

It may be added that in the colonial period the existence of the colleges was a potent means of colonial fellowship. Each college was a point of assemblage for its colonies. Each college also attracted students from other colonies. All the colleges formed a sort of fraternity in learning, and this sense of brotherhood reënforced the sense of brotherhood in civic destinies. The union of the colleges promoted the union of the colonies.[1] The

[1] Tyler's "History of American Literature," vol. ii, pp. 308, 309.

same condition is being repeated to-day in the colleges of our great and diversified America.

In the review of the history of college life in America one is furthermore impressed with the influence of the higher education on public opinion. Education has aided in the formation of sound judgment by the people upon great questions. This result has been accomplished by training students to think and by teaching students regarding the great questions of human interest. For the university represents tradition and prophecy. The boys in the classroom to-day become the leaders in society and government ten and thirty years hence. The knowledge and power of such men represent the means and method of the university for giving light to the community. It is also to be said that the writings of the university teachers upon the profound and vital questions of human society does or should possess peculiar worth. These teachers are to avoid at once a presentation so broad as to make their message meaningless, and also a concentration so narrow as to lay themselves open to the charge of partisanship. It is not well for the university teacher usually to enter political campaigns on a partisan basis. At such a time of heated passion the good which he might do in speaking or in writing would be undone and more than undone by the quickening of personal animosities. There may be more of heat than of light in his discourse. If at such periods of public debate the university teacher should feel it his duty to utter his beliefs, he should express himself as a judge on the bench, and not as an advocate standing on the stump. At such a time, too, he is not to suffer himself to use his professorial place as a platform for the declaration of personal opinions.

In this period of two and a half centuries the university teacher has also usually represented the right of dissent. This right is in great peril of being disregarded in a democracy. The employment of the right of dissent usually demands courage; and its use should always be accompanied with intellectual and ethical moderation. When the right of dissent is thus exercised, the freedom of teaching, in behalf of which the American university is solicitous for itself, and also the American public no less solicitous, is not endangered. The judge of what is the truth is

not to be the civil, nor, of course, the ecclesiastical power, but the university itself. The university is of all bodies the best qualified to be the judge. It has no political government to conserve or to perpetuate; it has no doctrine to impress; it has no purpose to perform, excepting the discovery of the inerrancy of the truth as a means of human betterment. The great progress of the universities of Germany in the last century has been caused more by the freedom of the teaching than by any other condition. Upon whatever occasions the civil authorities have seen fit to interfere with the freedom of the teaching, these interferences have resulted not only in harm to the universities, but also in injury to the best interests of the people. In this country the interference with freedom of teaching has been far less frequent than is commonly supposed. Professors have been removed from their chairs, and the public has often believed that the reason for the removal lay in the unwillingness of the professors to submit their judgments to the judgments of founders or trustees or benefactors. I would not say that in some American universities the freedom of teaching is as great as it ought to be. I would not say that chairs have not been declared vacant on the ground that their occupants presented opinions which did not have the approval of boards of trustees, but I do say that such instances are far less common than is usually believed. The reasons for the removal of professors have often been reasons of personal character or of general inefficiency, of which the public knows nothing at all. Such reasons have been far more frequent than reasons arising from a lack of freedom in teaching. In fact, I should not hesitate to say that, except in a very few instances, freedom of teaching has never been interfered with by the governing authorities.

The college and the university have also further exerted a mighty influence over the spiritual ideals of American life. American life needs, in common with the life of every new and democratic people, the inspiration of the high ideals and the constant supply of strength for gaining these ideals.

The relation of a university placed in a prosperous democracy to the spiritual ideals of the race is of large and serious worth. A democracy is concerned first, as it ought to be, with

its own political existence. It applies to and for itself the laws of self-preservation. That its own integrity may be assured, it is inclined to be content with the customary and the commonplace. Democracy finds the comparison of qualities rather to begin and to end with the positive. That relationship beginning with the positive is not apt to end with the superlative, or even to reach the comparative. Democracy seeks the greatest good for the greatest number, as it ought, but in this seeking it is inclined to consider the greatest number of the present time and to take no cognizance of the yet greater number of the future.

Every great nation and every great age devotes itself to some supreme object. In the Hebrew time and nation the devotion was to religion; in the Greek, to literature and art; in the Roman, to law and to empire; in mediæval Italy, to the church; in America, it was to liberty. But at the present the American commonwealth seems to find its chief ambition in the making of power through material forces. This ambition need not disquiet the philosopher, for the wisest of all political thinkers, Edmund Burke, once said that the love of gain is the great cause of prosperity of all states. But this ambition also emphasizes the fact that a democratic and prosperous people does need the constant inspiration of the highest ideals and a constant incoming of strength other than material. It is inclined to allow a material contentment to satisfy the desire for a higher enrichment.

A democratic people, therefore, requires the constant inspiration of highest ideals, and the constant supply of the strongest strengths. This filling of its needs is most efficiently done by the university. Itself seeking the highest ideals, untouched by selfishness, the university is able to move democratic communities unto the highest and the best. The university should constantly keep before the democratic community the duty of a love for truth, of a love for moral excellence, and an appreciation of the beautiful. The appreciation of beauty exercises itself in the fine arts. A political democracy is prone to make its fine arts merely decorative. It is hard to teach and advise people that the fine arts minister to the highest education of man. The university, however, through both teaching and example, should impress upon the democratic community that painting and poetry, archi-

tecture, sculpture, and music represent fundamental desires, passions, and needs of the human character. It should also show to the community that such ideas as truth, sincerity, purity, honesty are most impressively embodied for the benefit of humanity on the canvas and in the marble. But, be it said, that the worth of the fine arts in a democracy is not so great as the worth of the university, which not simply inspires an appreciation of the fine arts, but also arouses and quickens the love for truth and the love for moral excellence. If the golden age of Greece or Italy is ever to dawn in America, it will not be through a Pericles or a Lorenzo that it will arise, but it will come through the influence of the teaching of the American university.

Among the spiritual ideals of highest importance in a democracy are liberty, love for truth, respect for duty, the old cardinal virtues of justice, prudence, temperance, and courage, and the new cardinal virtues of faith, hope, and love. Liberty, which is a worthy spiritual ideal, is founded upon truth, and also upon respect for all rights. It is in this age endangered through economical inequality. But the peril is rendered less imminent through an increasing sense of brotherhood. These spiritual ideals are at the present time put in peril by an increasing dread of poverty. There probably never was an age when the dread of poverty was so great, or when the evils of poverty were so small. In this condition the university has a most significant mission. It is sent to uphold the spiritual ideals. It is to minister to the verities and virtues. It is called upon to teach that the wealth most worth treasuring lies in the mind and character and not in the hand. The one is eternal and the other must be temporary. It declares the most obvious truth that poverty with honor is infinitely to be preferred to wealth accompanied with any suspicion of dishonor. It declares that living is far less than life; that things seen are of smaller worth than things unseen; that the lust of the eyes and the pride of life are as nothing in respect to truth, duty, love, and faith. The spiritual ideals of the race are in large part embodied in literature. But also literature, in and of itself, represents one of the most significant fields of the university.

The relation of the university in the American democracy to

its literature has been one of both general and of particular significance. The relation is not simply that the university gives an education to poet, essayist, historian, although this relation is significant. For one does not forget that if Shakespeare was trained as an actor, and not as a student, the names of his contemporaries, even if less great, and of his successors are found in the matriculation registers of the English universities. With the exception, too, of Heine, who has left on record his contempt of university men and of universities themselves—though he was himself a university student—the great names in the literature of Germany are names found on the university rolls. One cannot forget, moreover, that in the year 1775 the Earl of Chatham paid, in the House of Lords, a most eloquent tribute to the intellectual force, the literary sympathy, and the decorum of the state papers recently transmitted from America, papers then lying upon the table of the House of Lords, which proved that the little colleges of the American colonies had served to constitute those colonies not only an integral part of the civilized world, but had also made America a member of the republic of letters.[1]

But one is also more impressed with the general truth that the university has represented and prepared the general condition out of which a national literature grows. The university teaches men to study themselves: it promotes self-reflection. The university teaches men to study nature: it promotes observation. The university teaches men to study history: it promotes wisdom. Self-reflection, observation, and wisdom are the materials out of which literature is developed. "While I was musing the fire burned: then spake I with my tongue." Scholarship may not be literature, but without scholarship there would not long be a worthy literature in any nation; the university is the mother of scholars and of scholarship. Learning may not be literature; but it is the brickkiln, or at least the clay pit, from which the house of literature is built; and the university is the laborer in the cause of learning. The university represents all that man has aspired unto and failed to reach, and also all that he has achieved. The development of humanity is the field in which lit-

[1] Tyler's "History of American Literature," vol. ii, p. 310.

erature labors. The university promotes those spiritual conditions of largeness of intellectual vision, of purity of heart, of dignity of conduct, and of social relationship: the conditions for the creation and the growth of literature. The university represents those atmospheres and relations of both the individual and the whole community which are necessary to the progress of the literary art.

Yet one is obliged to confess that the effect of the forces of the American university on American literature in these recent decades is not so great as in the earlier. From the discipline of a single college, and from the tuition of a single teacher of English in this college, were reared such writers as Emerson, Andrew P. Peabody, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Charles Sumner, John Lothrop Motley, Richard Henry Dana, James Russell Lowell, Henry D. Thoreau, Edward Everett Hale, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and Charles Eliot Norton. At the present time in this college, having many teachers of English, no such personalities or writers are appearing. What is the reason that under the great Channing so many great writers appeared, and that at the present time so few great writers are appearing? One scholar declares that the reason lies in our neglect of Greek literature. But the reason is more fundamental. The reason lies in the absorption of men in things material. In the former age men gave themselves to ideas; they now give themselves to things. The reason is that this is the age of materialism; it is the time of the reign of the exterior senses. The voice of the imagination is hushed. The altar fires of the creative imagination are burned out, and in their place are the fires of the steamship boiler and of the mogul locomotive. I also wish to say, and with great diffidence, that there is some reason to believe that the colleges are not now giving as effective a training in the creative quality of thinking as the same colleges did a quarter of a century ago. College studies are in dire peril of being made simply descriptive, having picturesqueness and the motive of interest as primary considerations, and not being made interpretative and comparative of the more fundamental relations of man and of nature. If this condition be at all the fact, of course, literature necessarily suffers.

The effect which the university and college have wrought in the professional life of America has been of the utmost significance. For the university or the college has given to each member of the three conspicuous professions a discipline for receiving his professional training without which the professional training would itself be ineffective. No one can worthily follow the law or medicine or the ministry who is not himself very much more than a lawyer, a doctor, or a minister. The college gives a background, a resource for professional service. It gives a sense of relationship. It creates a largeness which saves the individual from becoming small in the grinding out of the details of professional service. It fits the man to do large things when the demand is to do large things, as well as saves the man from becoming small when he must be content with doing small things.

The demand that the members of a profession shall have a good general equipment before entering upon their chosen vocation has become more urgent with the increasing complexity of modern life. The increasing complexity of modern life means an increase in the number of relationships which the modern man embodies and represents. These relationships are so manifold that the clergyman who seeks to adjust the individual to his environment through religion, or the lawyer who seeks to adjust the individual to his environment through the statute or the common law, or the physician who seeks to adjust the individual to his environment through the art of healing, should himself be the master of every duty which springs out of the increasing number and complexity of relations. Duties and rights and principles require in their examination, interpretation, adjustment, and application a discrimination keener and a wisdom more affluent than prevailed in the earlier and simpler times.

In these times it is frequently and strongly asserted that the length of the purse of the undergraduate determines in no small degree the calling which he shall pursue. It is said that if one is to use the college as a condition and a force for a liberal education the usual period of four years is none too long. This time is short enough for the enlargement of the mind and for the growth of a liberal spirit. An intellectual aristocracy cannot be founded in a shorter period. But it is also said that if a

student is to enter one of the professions which are still called learned, two years are ample. For the professional training itself is more or less liberal and liberalizing. In these two remarks lies truth; but it is still to be said that a profession is not only enlarging, but it also demands a large mind in him who is to learn its truth and to practice its duties. Therefore literary studies may promote professional power, for such studies cultivate the imagination, train the feelings, enrich the memory, and broaden and lift the whole intellectual firmament. Such results are precious in the higher relations of every profession.

In a prosperous democracy like the American the function of the university in relation to the church has been and is one of peculiar interest. The church in a democracy is a free body. The State has no church. The church has no State. The university is also free. In a government in which the church and state are united, the government is open to the temptation of causing the university to promote the interests of the state-church and the church-state. Each party is employed for or against the other. The whole history of Oxford and Cambridge furnishes many examples. The contest of Wyckliffism and Lollardism illustrates how the court and the church compelled the university to submit. But in a democratic community, the church being free, and the university being also free, are able to adjust themselves to each other, not according to arbitrary limitations and arrangements, but according to their nature and constitution.

There is one special respect in which the university has proved to be of great advantage to organized religion. The university has helped to show to the world the relative worth of the church and the relative lack of the worth of churches. The church is founded upon the primary belief in the existence of a personal God, and upon the derived belief that the will of this Being is made known to the will of man, and also upon the derived belief that the will of this supreme Being is to be obeyed by man. Churches are founded upon some adaptation or application or corollary of this fundamental conception. The university is concerned with truth in large relations. It therefore investigates and presents the primary conception on which the church rests.

It therefore is an aid to the support of the church in a democratic community. But to the divisions of the one great church it has few or no relations. For schism it has not only contempt, but also indifference; for heresy, while it may give approval to the motives of the heretic, it has only indifference for the little truths which he endeavors to correlate and to transmute into his system of orthodoxy. The larger, therefore, a university becomes, the less significant do its denominational and sectarian relations appear. A sectarian university is a misnomer. The larger and stronger a university becomes, also, the more impressive and stronger becomes its allegiance to the fundamental doctrines of religion. It cannot avoid bearing relations to the fundamental doctrines of religion, for these are fundamental truths of being. A sectarian university would be a practical impossibility, as an irreligious university is a logical inconsistency. These truths receive illustration in the changes which have occurred in the English universities and in the enlarging policy of the oldest colleges of America.

It is also to be noted that theology, studied broadly, as it ever should be, becomes, when studied subjectively, psychology; and when studied objectively it becomes either anthropology or biology. Such a broad study of theology the university is of all institutions and agencies the best fitted to conduct. The school of theology is in peril of being a school of theology only. The results of such a narrow method cannot but be slight. For, valuing at the utmost the content of all special revelations from and concerning the divine Being, these revelations are so slight in comparison to the whole content of truth respecting God and His will that advantage must be taken of psychology, anthropology, and biology for learning whatever can be known touching Him who is the all in all.

The function of the university in training leaders for organized religion in the church is one which lies on the surface. The first colleges in America were schools of theology, and for the first century a majority of the graduates of each became clergymen. The theological relations of the older Cambridge and of Oxford were repeated at New Haven and at the younger Cambridge. That intimacy of religion and education is illustrated

in the numbers which the university has given to the body of candidates for holy orders and for the various offices of the church. The education which the university gives is represented in the curriculum. In knowledge and general relationships education should be as wide as truth, and in power and discipline it should be as exact as mathematics. It should include all the parts of present knowledge, but it should also be concerned with the development of the historical field. It should cover both a general training and a professional education. It should be, as the late Bishop Wescott has said:

"So far, then, nothing can be better than that the candidate for holy orders should, whenever it is possible, enter completely and heartily into the ordinary university course—that is, that he should approach his professional study through the avenue of the liberal studies; that he should have at least the opportunity of seeing clearly the position which it holds with regard to the other branches of knowledge; that he should learn, once for all, that the truths which he has to teach, the method which he has to follow, are not antagonistic, but complementary to the truths and methods of the metaphysician and the physicist. Even if the university did no more for him than this, he could not well dispense with the teaching which places him in a true position for future work. But the Universities can do (I speak with confidence of my own University, Cambridge) far more than this. They not only reveal to the theological student the general relations in which his science stands to other sciences, but they help him to lay deeply and surely the foundations on which all later constructions may repose. They enable him (that we may pass to our second principle) to seize the characteristics of the Christian revelation by directing him to the study of Holy Scripture and to the study of Church History. These studies follow naturally on the purely liberal studies with which he has been hitherto busied. They offer scope for the exercise of all the powers which he has matured. Through these, all the fullness of life is found to contribute to the interpretation of the Gospel. Through these dogma and ritual first become really intelligible when they are seen to answer to, or rise out of, facts. Through these, if we dare not speak of *proof*, comes that conviction of the truths of Christianity on which the intellect as well as the soul of man is able to rest with absolute assurance."[1]

The American college and university have also, especially

[1] Brooke Foss Wescott, "On Some Points in the Religious Office of the Universities," pp. 87–89.

in the last decades, come to exert a mighty influence over the whole industrial and social movement. The prosperous democracy of the United States is engaged, together with Germany, Great Britain, France, and Holland, in the industrial conquest of the world. The period of settlement of the newer parts of the world has been succeeded by the period of commerce, and the period of commerce is to be succeeded by the period of industrialism. The development of mines, the building of railroads, the organizing of great agricultural conditions and forces, the formation of vast steamship lines, the equipment of mills for the manufacture of iron and steel and lumber and of the products of iron and steel and lumber, represent some of the chief forms which industrialism is assuming. This industrialism is to touch Africa, South America, Asia Minor, and China. It is to touch ultimately every part of the world, parts as remote as Thibet, Persia, and Afghanistan. To this vast, and to become yet more vast, industrial movement the university bears several relations. First, the initiative and the progress of these movements demands a trained brain to see and to judge, and a will strong for decision and strong also for carrying decisions into effect. The university does not primarily train the will, but the university does primarily train the mind of which the brain is the expression and the will the agent. Therefore the university should be able to offer to those concerned in these vast undertakings a higher order of talent than can elsewhere be found. Secondly, the university also should be able not only to furnish great administrators, it should also be able to point out the most effective methods by which these undertakings can proceed and the most favorable conditions under which these undertakings can be made to achieve their highest purposes. A general trained intelligence is the best method and condition for securing these great results. It is, for example, a general trained intelligence which has worked so silently and so unconsciously as to seem to be almost the working of the *Zeitgeist*, which has proved that iron and steel can be most economically made on or near the southern shore of Lake Erie. It is the lack of a general trained intelligence that has tried to make iron and steel near the mines of the iron ore in Minnesota. Wisdom touching all the conditions

of this great movement should represent the result of the training given to university men. Thirdly, the university, moreover, should not neglect to point out the perils which lie in the pathways of these undertakings, both for the people and for the governments which foster these vast movements. The voice of the university, free from partisanship, free from any suspicion of a taint of a narrow patriotism, seeking to learn the truth, trying to do acts of righteousness which are based on truth, should be the most potent and persuasive voice in determining the course of the industrial conquests of the world. The only fear is that though the voice speak it may not be heard, neither its intimations followed nor its admonitions heeded.

The relation of the university to the industrial organization, therefore, is not only one of simple approbation, but it is also one of hearty and constant coöperation. If the university cannot approve of industrialism as an ultimate ideal toward which all the struggles of the human spirit may be worthily directed, it does yet approve of industrialism as both a process and a product. Industrialism as a process has its approval, for industrialism necessitates activities of the intellect and of the will. Industrialism calls into service judgment both as a weighing of evidence and as a decision. Industrialism as a product has the approval of the university, for this product is a rich granary, not for holding but for providing the university with means for doing its best work. But the university is not merely justified by approving of the great material and industrial movement. It is the originator and inspirer of this movement. In the great fields of biology and chemistry and geology the university has given an impulse and direction to the industrial forces. The chemical laboratory of the university preceded the chemical laboratory of the iron and steel mills. Andrew Carnegie was the first in America to employ a professional chemist in steel mills. The service began two generations after the elder Silliman was installed at Yale and a generation after Cooke became an instructor at Harvard. The application of electricity to the manifold uses of man was made possible only by the experiments in the laboratories of the university and by the discoveries made there. Prof. Bell, of the telephone, has said that it was to the discoveries of

Helmholtz he owed his discoveries and his applications of these discoveries to the field of the telephone itself. It is a university professor who has given us the most valuable analysis of the petroleum oils, and it is also a university professor who has made the most efficient investigations into the value of fishes not only as a form of the lower life, but also as a food of man. The remark of Agassiz is common to the effect that he had no time to make money, but it is to be said that the way he used his time has resulted in thousands and tens of thousands of people making money. He had the time to discover truths out of which money has been coined. One cannot forget Pasteur, whose investigations enriched France by billions of francs. Among the students at Yale have been Eli Whitney, who invented the cotton gin and the American system of small arms; Samuel F. B. Morse, who invented the electro-magnetic telegraph; David Bushnell, who invented the submarine cable; Alexander C. Twining, who invented the apparatus for the production of artificial ice; Eli Whitney Blake, who invented the rock-breaker; and Charles Goodyear, whose name is associated with the india-rubber industry.

And yet the university cannot regard the industrial commonwealth as the ultimate goal of society. Industrialism can never satisfy permanently the highest needs of humanity. One can interpret the universe in terms of the five senses and get a universe of form and color, of taste, of smell, and of the solid, according to that sense which he uses. One can interpret the universe in terms of the intellect and get thought; or in terms of the heart and get love; in terms of the conscience and get righteousness; in terms of the will and get strength; in terms of the æsthetic faculty and get beauty. And be it said that thought, love, righteousness, strength, and beauty can permanently satisfy the needs of men. Industrialism is concerned in its results, therefore not with thought, love, strength, righteousness, and beauty, but with such products as minister primarily to the senses of man. But be it said that although the university cannot regard industrialism as an ideal toward which society should move, it does regard industrialism as a step in the progress toward that goal at which humanity is ultimately to

rest. The university does look upon industrialism as one of the foothills to the skyey range of man's highest contentment and realization.

In respect also to the influence of the university over the social movement certain truths have emerged. Even if the special influence of the higher education over this movement has been of brief duration, yet the influence has already become significant. There are two or three methods by which the university can promote social efficiency. First, by training its graduates in the truths and practices of what may be called social ethical altruism. Ethical altruism is an expression in part in terms of the conscience of what is declared in the Ten Commandments; and it is summed up in the further command to love your neighbor as yourself. But ethical altruism means more than loving your neighbor as yourself; it means loving your neighbor more than you love yourself. For proper love for oneself may be inferior to proper love for one's neighbor. Surely the good man will prefer to do wrong to himself rather than to do wrong to his neighbor. Ethical altruism means oneself in place of one's neighbor, and also it means uniting oneself to one's neighbor, so that all the forces of the community may be joined together for one purpose under one spirit and end and method. Such a doctrine the university should teach and such a doctrine it should practice in the units of university organization and administration. Second, the university may also teach social efficiency through a theological teaching. The essence of this theological teaching should be the fatherhood of God and the constant brotherhood of man. When man becomes impressed with the truth of a common brotherhood, each man seeks to do his duties more eagerly than he seeks to secure his rights. He becomes eager to use his rights in giving up his rights. Third, the university should train men in that most difficult art in which to train men—namely, administration.

In the promotion of social efficiency the university adjusts itself in best ways to the growth of that ever-growing force, the sense of humanity. It is significant that the growth of the sense of humanity has been specially vigorous in the forty-six years that have elapsed since the publication of "The Origin of Species."

As it has become evident that man has arisen out of the lower forms of life, the worth of this, the highest form now known, has been the more appreciated, and the sense of the oneness of this present highest form has been the more clearly recognized. This problem of recognition and appreciation the university has promoted. Itself embodying the highest forces of personality, knowing the unity of humanity and the relation of humanity to nature and to the animal, it has been an agency and a condition best fitted to promote the growth of this sense of humanity. Through the interpretation of human movements, and through a sense of love for all men and a desire to serve all men, the university most directly ministers to this noble growth.

The university shows by its example of moderation that the history of civilization is the history of the acceptance and of the discarding of social theories. As the history of philosophy is the narrative of the search for the absolute—in fact, of the failure to find the absolute—so civilization represents the discovery, the adoption, and the discarding of many theories of society and of human betterment. The university should not lend the weight of its authority nor the affirmation of its personal wisdom to methods which have not met the test of application and experience. It should be hospitable toward presumed truth and it should be inhospitable toward presumed error. It may investigate, but it should distinguish between investigating for truth and putting on the public exchange truths bearing the stamp of its recognition.

One should not pass over the functions of the university with relation to general society in a prosperous democracy. The society of a prosperous democracy is peculiarly subject to certain temptations. In point of intellectul condition the higher classes in a prosperous democracy are subject to the temptation of materialism and sensualism; the middle classes, to the temptation of mediocrity and commonplaceness; and the lower classes, to the temptation of brutalism and of contempt of all knowledge. In point of manners and social condition the higher classes are open to the temptation of arrogance, the middle to the temptation of pettiness, and the lower to the temptation of bestiality. To each of these classes the university owes

a special duty. To the higher it owes the duty of teaching the lesson of spirituality; to the middle, the duty of teaching the relativity of the facts of knowledge and of the truths of personality and of things; and to the lower, the duty of teaching gentleness and humility. American scholarship, through its ministry in the universities, through its teachings and its teachers, is to remove the evil, instruct the ignorant, humanize the brutal, purify the sensual, broaden the narrow, elevate the low, make natural the unnatural, and transmute the brutal into the human and the human into the divine.

The higher education has also borne a most intimate relation to the lower. It has trained teachers and executives. It has inspired courses of study. It has offered an educational philosophy of at least some degree of worth. It has been at once an historian and a prophet. It has provided atmospheres and a sense of relations as well as specific leadership.

The higher education has also had a somewhat interesting effect upon what might be called half-education. Education has a singular effect upon the human character in causing the man who is thoroughly educated to regard himself as not being at all educated. The man who is really wise is the very last man to call himself wise. Modesty and humility are a product of wisdom. The modesty is not assumed; the humility is not counterfeited. The man who is wise in one subject sees so many limitations to his knowledge that he is more impressed with what he does not know than with what he does know. One of the greatest of chemists is constantly saying to me that he does not know anything about chemistry. The philosopher and the classicist are making the same remark about their studies. The man who absolutely knows nothing about a subject is also inclined to make his expression correspond with the facts in the case. But the man who stands about halfway between the real ignorance of the ignorant and the real learning of the learned has the helplessness of the ignorant one and is without the modesty of the scholar. The condition of half-education is the common product of the general education which the common people receive and offer. It is an education in facts; it is not an education in the significance of those facts. It is possibly an educa-

tion in the more immediate significance of those facts, but it is not an education in their more general significance. Facts are of slight value. The present meaning of facts is of some value, but the ultimate meaning of facts is of the greater and greatest value.

In a democracy, as I have intimated, the rule of half-education is a peril constant and serious. In a democracy the majority rules, but the rule of the majority is in peril of being the rule of a tyrant. Education is designed to do away with half-education. Education is ordained to make the half-educated man recognize that he is only half-educated, and therefore it results in the promotion of humility and of respect for the opinions of those who are worthy to hold and to express opinions.

The lesson of the value of the expert the American people are learning. They have learned this value in most vocations and relations. If one wishes to lay out his estate, he goes to the gardener; if he wishes to build a house, he goes to an architect; if he wishes to buy a suit of clothes, he goes to a tailor; if he is sick, he calls a doctor; if he desires to draw up his will, he calls a lawyer; and if he desires to know somewhat about religion, he presumably calls a clergyman. But in matters of education and government the people have not learned the value of the expert. The unique, and always unique, experience of Abraham Lincoln has helped to lead to the belief that a man may make a worthy president of the country without having a worthy training or preparation for that service. The schools call girls from the farm and boys from the shop and ask them to teach, to inspire, and to become guardian and guide, philosopher and friend, to those who happen to be five or three years their juniors. But the value of the expert in matters governmental and educational will gradually come to pervade all grades of society, as the value of the expert in other matters has already become recognized. The higher education is in this endeavor to continue to be aggressive. A little here and a little there and the element of half-education will gradually become eliminated. Education has the stars on its side. No right method for human betterment can permanently defy the laws of nature.

In relation to education therefore, in general, the university

stands before the people as embodying the most constant and the most important results. The university is significant, noble, great. Its teachers are renowned. Its laboratories induce and declare nature's long-held secrets; its museums collect nature's most precious treasures. The university thus serves both as an ideal toward which all education may progress and as an inspiration which seeks to render every school more efficient, enriching every course of study and quickening every teacher to the dignity of his calling. This condition represents the historical process. Harvard College was the cause of the establishment of the first schools to fit boys for Harvard College, and these schools which fitted boys for college occupied a more important place in the minds of the colonists than the schools which did not fit for college.

It must be confessed that the university has not always occupied this closeness of relationship to the common schools which is thus suggested. The college world has too often been remote from the public-school world. Condescension has frequently been the mood. The higher education and the lower are to be one. If the higher is insolent to the lower, the higher will lack a power of usefulness and the lower will tend to become wooden and burdensome. If the lower condemn the higher, the lower will lack buoyancy, spring, and a sense of largeness, and the higher will tend to become more remote and more arrogant. When the two are united in the hearts of the people education becomes vital, progressive, comprehensive, and satisfactory.

Furthermore, higher education has in the United States borne a significant relation to what is called research. This relation as at present obtaining in America represents rather a prophecy than a history. But the duty is evident. What has been accomplished through archæology, or through the natural and physical sciences, is only an intimation of what remains to be done. What is technically known as research is simply the inquiry for truth. This inquiry is pursued for its own sake. Truth for truth's sake is the great rallying cry of research in these last decades. This research is of course pursued systematically. The enlargement of human knowledge respecting man and respecting the world in which he lives has been the endeavor

of man ever since he has known or reasoned at all. Two great periods of investigation has the race passed through, been impressed by, and used. One was the Renaissance, and the other began fifty years ago and is still continuing. The Renaissance had relation primarily to the world of man: it was humanistic. The present awakening has relation to the world of nature: it is scientific. When one thinks how long man has lived in the world, daily seeing the sun rise and set, nightly beholding the stars move in their orbits, impressed by the phenomena of light and darkness, of heat and of cold, of forces and of facts, it is a surprise that his knowledge of the material world is so inadequate, superficial, narrow. The world is still comparatively unknown. Man himself still is hardly better known than the exterior world. Even that most manifest part, his body, is still the object of prolonged inquiry. As a physiologist has lately said:

"Although we have a considerable acquaintance with the gross structure of the body, this is by no means complete. Microscopical investigations, especially of the nervous system, promise rich results of great practical importance. Our knowledge of the physical and chemical structure of the cells is still very crude, although these form the basis of its life and functions, and therefore of the functions of the entire body. What we know of these functions is restricted to their ultimate mechanical, chemical, or structural phenomena. The mechanism by which these phenomena are brought about is an almost complete mystery to us, although the greater number of investigators who have penetrated most deeply into this question consider that its solution is not impossible."[1]

If the body of man is still so unknown, what shall be said regarding the ignorance on the part of man of his own spiritual organization?

For the better knowledge, therefore, of the world without and of the world within scholars should devote all their powers and attainments. For such devotion are necessary, first, the love for truth as truth; second, the undying passion for searching for truth; and, third, the conditions necessary for finding the

[1] "The Needs of Medical Research," by Prof. Torald Sollmann, Western Reserve University *Bulletin*, November, 1902, p. 133.

truth. The conditions necessary for finding the truth are: First, The giving to the scholar time; second, freedom from interruption; third, freedom from care as to his material support; and fourth, ability to coördinate and to concentrate efforts in research.

Certain of these four conditions are not infrequently found existing in men of inherited or acquired riches. One of the most useful investigators of electricity has through the practical results of his investigations made himself a rich man. He uses the leisure which his riches allow him to enjoy in the pursuit of theoretical investigation. One of the more eminent astronomers is using inherited wealth in building observatories in remote parts of this country and in foreign parts as well. The number of such independent investigators will undoubtedly increase. But the perils attending research done under these conditions is that it will be spasmodic, in method unsound, and also unworthy of the time and money spent upon it. The field chosen for investigation, too, may not be worth investigation. The investigation, moreover, may not be conducted in wisdom. Investigations have been carried on, and of course are still carried on, by independent researchers who depend on some regular vocation for their support. This method was approved of by John Stuart Mill, and was followed by this great thinker for himself. But it is open to the objection of duplication and of amateurishness. Research is severe toil, or ought to be, and it cannot be done as an avocation. Either the research or the researcher suffers. Therefore, be it said, the best method for inquiry after truth is found in and through the university. The university is a collection of trained workers. Each worker helps every other worker: inspiration is gained. The university represents the materials for the study of all truth: truth is a unity. And the truths of one department bear close relation to the truths of many other departments: proportion is secured. The university sets before the researcher investigation as a duty and also as a part of the birthright of academic freedom. Indolence or indifference should have no power over him, and his work should be done in freedom. He should be trusted, and he should be trusted because he is worthy of trust. But it may be said that the university may be unwise in the conditions with which it

surrounds the investigator; it may be arbitrary in the commands or suggestions which it lays upon him. It is certainly true that all the advantages for research do not rest on the side of the university. In general it may be said that in England most researches have been conducted privately, and that in Germany most researches have been conducted mainly under the auspices of a university. Charles Darwin at Down, on his own estate—an estate difficult to reach or to go from—moving the world from his little fulcrum, is the type of the normal English searcher for truth. Immanuel Kant, at Königsberg University, occupying a professorship, lecturing to a few students, moving in the free atmosphere of scholarship, writing his blind books which are yet to open the eyes of mankind, is the type of the German searcher for truth.

The duty of research in the United States is urgent. The peril of a democracy is that it will search for truth not for truth's own sake, but for the sake of what truth will do or bring. It makes investigation into electricity to get light, or heat, or power, not to discover the laws, nature, and relations of electricity. Let it ever be known that truth is primary, and the search for truth for its own sake is a primary duty. The great thinker who gave as a reason for his passion for the theory of numbers that it is a pure virgin that never has been and never can be prostituted to any practical application whatsoever represents the type of the wisest investigator. This lesson of the value of truth for its own sake is a lesson that every democracy should learn. It is a lesson which the university is of all human forces best fitted to teach a democracy. Democracies, too, are naturally fickle. The search for truth should therefore be conducted under the most stable and permanent of all human institutions—the university.

Furthermore, the higher education in America has also had a relation to the formal government. This relation it has fulfilled in three ways. It has served in disseminating a sound idea of the nature of government. It has also endeavored to make clear that government by parties, the natural method in a democracy, is only a means and never an end. It has, furthermore, trained men to become worthy officers of the state.

In training men to become worthy officers of the state it has educated men for service of two sorts. The one kind is the clerical and the less arduous administrative type. Such is the training given to the young Englishmen who are to occupy positions of a clerical grade in the colonial governments. This training is valuable and leads to resulting values in the interest of the government and of humanity. The other kind of training is less direct, and yet it is the more valuable as it is the less directly immediate in its purposes. It relates to general preparation for the most important administrative and executive places. The primary purpose of such a preparation is identical with the primary purpose of education. It seeks to make each man a thinker, a weigher of evidence, and a judge of relations. It does not aim to fit one to become president or a legislator or a member of the Supreme Court. It desires simply so to train the intellect, as well as all the other parts of one's nature, that the man, if elected president or legislator or appointed judge, shall do the work belonging to the position with efficiency and satisfaction. It looks upon government in its higher relations as first a means and secondly an end.

A second work which the higher education has accomplished and may accomplish for the government relates to political parties. In a prosperous democracy public attention is usually fixed on the party in power, and upon this party as an end and as a good in itself. For one becomes so accustomed to the party as a necessary method or means for carrying on the government that he is soon led to believe that the party is the government in itself, and even that in extreme instances the government exists to perpetuate and enrich the party. The university is therefore to impress upon the people the truth that parties exist in order to give the most efficient government, and that that party only has a right to be in power which gives the most efficient government. Therefore the universities have usually been a silent factor in political affairs. They have been concerned only to maintain a sound and efficient government. They have been, and are, the most eager to remove any political party which has become weak while it has been trying to govern. In the United States the universities have been the most conservative element in pre-

serving the present government as a republic. They would be of all classes the most averse to a monarchy of any sort. But no body of citizens would be more eager to dislodge a political party which had proved itself to be incapable.

A third form of the service which the higher education has rendered relates to the dissemination of sound ideas of the nature of government. It has sought to impress upon the people that the principles of good government are the common principles which constitute the best life—honesty, capacity, faithfulness.

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